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1796

THE
World Bewitch'd,
&c.

Vol. I.

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THE
World Bewitch'd ;
OR,
An Examination of the Common Opinions
CONCERNING
SPIRITS:

Their Nature, Power, Administration,
and Operations.

AS ALSO,
The Effects Men are able to produce
by their Communication.

28 2
43
Divided into IV Parts.

B Y
BALTHAZAR BEKKER, D.D.
and Pastor at Amsterdam.

VOL. I.

A: 1104

Translated from a French Copy, approved of
and subscribed by the Author's own Hand.

Printed for R. Baldwin in Warwick-Lane, 1695.

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O T

John W. Miller

Director of Physics

Dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the matter of the State in the City of New York, and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
John W. Miller

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Your obedient servant,
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T O

Mr. *Feyo John Winter,*

Doctor of Physick;

*Formerly Burgermaster and Coun-
sellor of State in the City of
Leeuwarden; As also Deputy
to the States of Friesland;
And Elder of the Walloon
Church in the same Town.*

Most Honoured Cousin,

I *Am bound to you since a long time
with such particular Obligations, and
my Duty ties me to you with such strict
Bands, that there is no Man in the
World, besides the own Brothers of my*

The Dedication.

Dear Spouse, but I ought to prefer you before him. I have dedicated to them the two first Books of the World Bewitch'd, and amongst all my Friends, whose Names I intend to prefix to each part of the French Translation, I have made choice of you for this, that is, the first of all, and going to be publish'd. It's above thirty years since I have the Honour to be acquainted with you, and about fifteen, since I am allied to you by your Marriage with the Lady Henriette Fullenia, the nearest Cousin of my Spouse, both from Father and Mother's side. It's likewise very near twenty years, since I was so happy as to see you a Member of the first College of the States of Frieland, on whose direction the good or bad success of my Affairs depended at that time. When occasion has offer'd it self, I receiv'd from you Testimonies of a just favour and an ingenious distinction. Your Marriage tied more strictly the Bands of the Friendship you had for me; and I have had the pleasure to see it lasting to this day. You gave me lately an obliging proof of it, when you were pleas'd to present from me to his Highness, Prince

The Dedication.

Prince Henry Casimir of Nassau, Hereditary Governor of our common Country, &c. my Frielland's Divinity; which I had taken the liberty to dedicate to him. For I was not in a capacity of presenting it my self; because the great Employments of his Highness calling him at every moment to different parts of his Government, I could not be sure so much as an hour of the place, where I might meet with him. This circumstance procur'd me the Honour of receiving by the next Post a Letter from that Prince, containing very express Marks of his Affection; in which he also declar'd, that my Dedication had not been unpleasant to him. But I have still another reason that engages me to present you with the Translation of this Work, with which you seem'd very much pleas'd. It's your particular Concern in the Affairs of the Churches, in whose Tongue 'tis written, and in general in all those of our Holy Religion: To this you incessantly apply your self with a Zeal worthy of Imitation and Admiration, discharging still in the Walloon Church of your City, the Honourable Function of Elder, which you have formerly

The Dedication.

discharg'd many times, as well as in
the Church of your Mother Tongue.
Further, I thought fit to cause this Trea-
tise to be Translated my self, lest some
others should undertake it, having been
advise'd, that the Translation of it had
been begun in this Town, and elsewhere,
without my knowledge; which however is
happen'd, but since the late Synod of
North-Holland; the proceedings that
were made against me, having only been
of use to excite the curiosity of the pub-
lick, as to this matter. And therefore I
have prevented the designs of those, who
intended to make this Translation, and
provided at the same time, lest any should
appear under my name, without my consent,
and my revising of it, as I may assert
that I have done this. It comes from
a Frenchman, who has carefully apply'd
himself to the study of our Tongue, and
seems to me to understand his own ve-
ry well. For tho' I am not conver-
sant with it so far, as to have Transla-
ted my own Book my self: yet I think
that I am able to judge, that I should
not have better succeeded, nor more ex-
pressly have render'd my own Thoughts,
if

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if I had been in a capacity of under-
taking it. Besides, this Translation being
almost verbal, because the quality of the
Work required it; It is so much the
more difficult, and worthy that its de-
fects should be overlook'd. I think at
least, that no other difference will be perceiv-
ed, betwixt it and the Original, but that of
the Tongue; no real change having been
made in it. I own that several matters
of Fact have been added, and inserted
in divers places of this Book; but no-
thing has been left out, so that the Rea-
der shall have no occasion of complain-
ing of his Losses; but rather of being
glad of the new advantages that ac-
crue to him. I also have added after
the Preface, an Abridgement of the
whole Work, as a preliminary, that gives
a general view and notion of it, inclu-
ding in substance, the Contents of the
three last Books, that are to be succeß-
fully Translated; the second being alrea-
dy far advanc'd. I only earnestly wish,
that you may be as well satisfied with my
Dedication, as I am with this Translati-
on. So that all that I have to do, is to
commend you, and all your Friends and
Relations,

The Dedication.

Relations, to the Grace of God, which I heartily beg of you all. But lest any French Copy, of any of these Four Books, should be publish'd under my name, besides, those that are printed in this Towne for Peter Rotterdam, the first of which is dedicated to you; I declare that I own no other, but such as are subscribed by me, as this is, wherein I assure you with my own Hand, that I am,

Most Honoured Cousin,

Your most Obedient,

And Obliged Servant.

Was Subscribed in
the Original,

B. Becker.

Amsterdam, July 18,

1 6 9 3.

A
PREFACE,
 TO THE
Whole WORK in General,
 AND THE
First Book in particular.

IF ever any Author thought the Treatise he was publishing, needed an Introduction, methinks that I may not only have the same Opinion of this ; but even that I cannot forbear it. Two particular Reasons oblige me to it, one of which concerns the circumstances of what happened during the impression of this work, and the other, has relation to it's contents. Both these Reasons has something extraordinary, but the latter especially appears still more strange, because of the former ; and therefore I intend to give the Reader some explanation upon both.

Having form'd a design to write upon the matter treated of in this Book, I begun Eight Years ago in my Preface to the *Book of Comets*, to give some hints of what I intend to explain here more particularly. I had chosen for the subject of my publick Sermons, the Prophecy of *Daniel*, when I was come to the 11th v. of the 2 Chapter, in which the *Magicians* confess, they were not capable

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of expounding the King's Dreams ; I drew from that Declaration, such inferences, as evidently show'd what must be believed concerning the extent of knowledge, ascribed to the Devil ; afterwards judging it convenient to examine his power, and whether it extends as far as is ordinarily said ; the first occasion I had of ascending the Pulpit, I took my Text on *Exodus* Chap. 8. v. 18th, and examined why the Magicians could not as easily produce Lice, as Frogs and Serpents. The late *Sieur de Tami-ninga*, Lord of *Belleingweer*, a learned and pious Gentleman, heard my Sermon, and lik'd it extreamly ; thinking that if what I had propos'd, were printed, it would obtain the approbation of understanding persons, and inform the ignorant. He exhorted me himself several times to print that discourse, and imployed other persons to desire me to do it ; but I was so taken up with other business, as may be judged by the Books I have published, and by the assistance I have afforded my friends in the Edition of theirs, that I could not answer his expectation so soon, tho' I never absolutely deny'd to do it. Since that time, I preached twice again on the same matter, on occasion of the Witch of *Endor*, whom *Saul* went to consult, and of the Devil who torment- ed *Job*, many persons press'd it hard upon me, to publish my Opinion on this subject. In 1689, as I was explaining in the Hospital Church, the 19th and following verses of the 5th Chap. to the *Galati- ans*, I searched deeper into this matter, expounding the Greek word *φαρμακεία*, which the *French* and *Dutch* interpreters have translated *Poisoning*, and the *English*, *Witchcraft*. But as I could not comprise in a Sermon, whatever was to be said upon this subject, I refer'd my hearers to a fuller instruction, in a larger volum that I was going to publish. I have given an account why it was not undertaken before,

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before, and now I shall inform the Reader, why it has been so long in the Press.

Going from *Francker* to *Loen*, where I was call'd to be a Minister, I promised my Bookseller *H. Nauta*, that to keep our old acquaintance, I would give him to print the first Treatise I should compose in *Holland*; almost as soon as I was come thither, there appeared a Comet in the Years 1680, and 1681, which gave me occasion to write a Book, Intituled, *An Examination of Comets*, which I put out in 1683. But as the Bookseller desired the Book might be somewhat larger, and I found it inconvenient to take care of a long impression beyond Sea; I obliged him to continue it for that time; promising him, that, if he ever re-printed the same Treatise, I would either increase it, or add some other to it. I had no occasion to keep to the first promise, no body having said or written any thing against it, that required a more particular explication. And therefore I thought fit to hold my Second promise, by adding to my *Examination of Comets*, another tract upon a matter somewhat relating to it, and on which I had meditated a long time. To that end, I compos'd an *Examination of Magick*; and *Witchcraft*, that contained very near as many sheets as that of *Comets*; and I caus'd in Autumn last, a new Edition to be made of the latter, on purpose to joyn it to this new Treatise. But having sometimes especially in *November 27th* 1689, publickly confuted, in the Pulpit, the common Opinion; two days after, a Book was deliver'd me coming from *England*, where it was Printed, and Intituled, *A Relation of the discovery of some Witchcrafts*, in which very many particular things were said to be contained. I thought by the reading of it, that it would quickly be translated into our Tongue, to satisfy the curiosity of People. And

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as my Opinions are directly opposite to what is laid down in that Book, I perceived it might breed prejudices against what I had so freely and openly declared in the Pulpit, and such as I should scarce be able to destroy afterwards; because of the apparent strength of the proofs brought forth in that work; for that Reason, I rather chose to translate it my self, than to leave it to another, adding some remarks, fit to open the Eyes of the Reader, by discovering the grounds on which such relations are laid; that he might not thereby be in danger of being confirmed in the vulgar error; but that he might make use of these Annotations, until my compleat work concerning Magick and Witchcraft were printed, which was to be, according to my expectation, in the following Months. But besides the inconveniencies of the Weather in Winter, and the distance of the place where it was printed, viz. beyond Sea, together with the Book of Mr. Ainsworth, for which the same press was employed, caused a great deal of delay; during that time, I had leasure to review my Treatise of Magick, and to increase it so, that it became much larger, than that of Comets; besides, the translation and publishing of the English Book, procured me letters from several learned Men, and afforded matter to many Conversations, as well with those that were of my Opinion, as with those that were contrary to it. Thus having had occasion to search deeper into this subject, to give new explanations of my Opinion, and to confirm them by new Reasons; this work went on always increasing, and the order and disposition of it was so far changed; that from a small Book it became a bulky Volume. In the mean while, the impression that was made at *Leeuwarden*, seem'd to me, not only slow, but also very inconvenient, by Reason of the faults of the Press; of which I could not so well purge it,

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it; but that the first Book is still full of them. I resolved therefore to print the Second part at *Amsterdam*. Some time past, before that could succeed; however, without any inconveniency to the Book, for the Reasons just now alledged. The cause of this slowness being unknown, some were not afraid to publish, that I had lost courage, and durst not attempt to enter the Lists with the Devil: those Rumours, the questions that were continually put to me, and the writings that were sent me, when my Treatise was just coming out, obliged me to publish the two first Books, in which I mentioned something of the two last, that they might the better please the Reader. Besides I hop'd, God would give me the Grace to make an end of the whole work, and to add what the Readers might think wanting or convenient. But it could not be performed before the end of 1690, as I intended it, and the Bookseller desired it, for his own Interest; for the Frost that came in on a sudden, retarded the execution of it; it being not possible to send the Three last sheets to *Leenwarden*, and to get from thence those that were printed there, by reason of the Ice that put a stop to Navigation; so that I could have no Copy to present my friends with. I hoped still however that it might be done, but the Frost continuing, my Book thus imperfect was publish'd, and came without my knowledge, into the hands of many People in *Friesland*. It was therefore only seen by piece-meal and without coherency, which gave occasion to some of the Readers, and others that had heard of it, publicly to pass heard judgments upon it; even some intended, as I am informed, to make me explain my self more precisely, had I not done it in the Book it self. For at last, when they read it intire and in order, they all agreed, I had given all the explications that

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could be wisht, either as to the Reasons that had moved me to write it; or as to the scope I proposed to my self, which appears in the Preface, and in the first Chapter of the Book; or as to the necessity and usefulness of its publishing, which I have shown in the same Chapter, and the last but one. They were just the places that were wanting, for which Reason I wrote to the Bookseller of *Leenwarden*, and forbade him to give out any Copy of this Book, until the whole was compleat. Besides, during the Frost, I had time to add two Chapters to the end of the Second Book, and to enlarge the Preface, in order to inform the Reader of my Opinions, and the purity of my intentions, which has not proved altogether fruitless; for I have heard that most of those, that have read the Preface and the work afterwards, have been satisfied, as they have told one another and my self; whereas those that had taken upon them to criticise it, had read but some loose parcels of it, or had not read it at all, or perhaps had not so much as vouchsafed to read it.

Things remained a while in that state, every one enquiring after the Reason that hindered the publishing of my Book, and how it happened that I had none my self, since it had been sold in *Friesland* for some time. The Thaw came at last, and many Persons arrived with News of the Edition of my Book, but brought no Copies along with them, save some privately, and as stolen goods; then every body wondered, a Book should have been put out, in these Provinces, and it should not be found in *Holland*, where the Author lived; and not only my Brother Pastors should not have seen it, but I should say, I had none my self to present them with. At last I received 26 Copies of it from *Leeuwarden*, but had scarce one for my self; my friends came and took them away themselves, as they were
sowed;

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sowed ; and most of those that ask'd for them, could not get 'em, unless they came just when they were sow'd up. So greedy Men are of Novelties, especially when they can hardly get 'em.

Nititur in vetitum, semper cupimus; negata.

So much we love, and seek what is deny'd.

However it be, the Book could not be expos'd to Sale before the 11th day of March. A long time after I had sent the last Sheets to *Leeuwarden*, to Mr. *Nauta*, Bookseller, who had had the Book perfect in his hands for a long time, A Bookseller ask'd 50 Copies from him, and thought to receive them speedily, but had none sent to him. In the mean while, I find my self much perplex'd. I was desir'd, during two Months, by my best Friends, to communicate this Work to them, which they had never seen, and had heard commended ; for this reason I wrote to Mr. *Nauta*, I would take all the Copies upon me ; and pay them at such reasonable rates, that he would be satisfied with it ; he need but to send them to me without delay, with the first Vessel. Then I thought to consult with my Friends, whether I should sell the two First Books, that had already appear'd imperfect in *Friesland*, and elsewhere, or whether I should keep them until the whole Work was finished. The first seem'd to be the best Advice, to avoid the suspicion, that I durst not publish my Book, or that I was forced to suppress it, because of many things that were spread abroad to discredit it ; however, the last counsel suited better with my inclinations. I conceived that a Work that was at first but a small Treatise, tho' it had since been much enlarged, would be more favourably received, and prove of greater use, if it were given compleat at the same time to the publick ; that the design and cohering of it

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might be better seen, its Doctrines be more easily comprehended, and the happy effects it was able to produce be more plainly perceived, which is chiefly done by the last Part. But as the causes before alledged, had already once smother'd this design, so they did it again this time; for perceiving by the Letters of Mr. Nauta, it was impossible to agree with him, as to the price, and that it was unlikely he should ever do it, I was at last forced to give up the Book to him, that I might (with the Blessing of God,) pursue my design. So having altogether broken with that Bookseller, I have agreed some Months since, with another of this City, Mr. Daniel Vanden Dalen, to put divers Presses going upon it, and re-print the whole Work, revised and corrected, that I might incessantly publish all the four Parts, one after another, in the form in which the Reader now sees them. For as to the 750 Copies which Mr. Nauta had printed of the two First Books, and are most of them still upon his hands; they being an inconsiderable number, that could not go very far, and the hasty Edition of the Book, being as yet imperfect, seem'd to give room to a new Edition, that the Publick might be more speedily satisfied. I therefore here present the Reader with the First Book, enlarged with a new Chapter, that I thought necessary to add at the end. I hope, with the Blessing of God, that the three others shall successively appear every Month; and I persuade my self, that the reading of the First Parts, will excite some Curiosities for the later; and that altogether may invite the Reader to a serious consideration upon the Contents, and capacitate him to judge more soundly of this matter than he did, while this Treatise appear'd but in part, and confusedly. This is what I had to say, as to this Edition, that was made in such an extraordinary

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extraordinary manner, and publish'd without my knowledge.

I come now to treat of my scope, and what has obliged me to embrace the Opinions I assert in this Book. In all my Studies I was always inclin'd, not to rest upon probabilities, but to learch into the whole matter, and to get a clear and distinct knowledge of what I should know. Besides, many strange things had happen'd to me in *Friesland*, upon the first Writings I had publish'd, and experience had assured me, how little one ought to relye upon the Judgment of Men, especially when what they are accustomed to teach, is call'd in question. For is it not wonderful that my Book upon the Catechism should have been unanimously condemn'd in *Friesland*, tho' amongst above 200 Ministers, who consented to that Judgment, none could alledge so much as one solid Reason against it; and that afterwards it should have been twice unanimously approved of, without any change, as to the Doctrine and the controverted Points, having been made in it? This has confirm'd me in this persuasion, that a true Christian, especially a Doctor of Divinity, ought groundedly himself to enquire into things, without resting upon the Judgment of others, that he may obtain a full certainty of the object of his Faith, and the matter of his Precepts. Since that time I resolv'd only to follow the Holy Scripture, and Reason, in such things in which it ought to supply the silence of the Sacred Writings, and to assure my self by those two means, of what I was to believe, and to teach others, without taking the trouble of following the steps of other Men; never putting Pen to Paper, but to write upon those subjects, the importance of which I was convinced of, or had not been sufficiently explain'd and examin'd. I have therefore endeavour'd to

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free, as much as possible, our Holy Doctrine from such errors, as most Men appear to me to be taken with; or at least, to set in order, such things whic I conceive to be confused; Whether I was the first that discover'd it, or whether I needed only to promote what had been begun by others. There are other Reasons that have engag'd me in that design. For having sworn in the University of Francker, faithfully to maintain the pure Doctrine of the Reformed Church, and defend it both by words and writings, in all necessary occasions; I may now say with Prudentius, and as it becomes my Age.

*Per quinquennia jam decem,
Ni fallor fuimus : septimus insuper
Annum cardo rotat, dum fruimur sole volubili.
Vicinum senio jam Deus applicat.
Quid nos utile tanti spatio temporis egimus ?*

*Two score years are past, the third is running,
Since the Sun's light is upon me skining;
Old Age comes on, What have I been doing ?*

But it would be too long to enter into particulars, I shall only say that I intend to imploy the rest of my Life; first, to the Duties and Functions of my Ministry, which the Circumstances and largeness of this Town make more painful than in other places; and then to make an exact enquiry after whatever is falsely believed in the World, and the Erroneous Opinions that are entertained without any other ground then that they are every day told and heard of. For my most earnest desire is, to see Men become more wise and honest than they are, though very few sincerely intend it, or at least do their Endeavours to attain to that perfection; most part choosing rather to believe, and to do, what is common-

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commonly believed and done, than to be at the trouble of freeing themselves from Errors. In the mean while; what past in *Freiseland*, when my first Book appear'd abroad, ought to have taught me, how dangerous it is to write upon such matters; there being neither favour nor profit to be expected for such Authors as rid themselves from all prejudices; and having no regard, either for the Credit or Power of the Faction, whose Sentiments they reject, resolve to follow only what the Scripture teaches, or Reason dictates to them, and to embrace no Opinions, but such as are founded upon those two Grounds. Perhaps after my Death the usefulness of this Undertaking will be known; and tho' I dare not hope that it will be done in my Life time; yet I publish it my self, to learn the Judgment of the publick, to defend my Works, and to enlarge or correct them, according to the Light I may acquire a-new, or that shall be communicated to me. For methinks, I am more able to do it, and to be Interpreter of my own Words and Thoughts, than those that may afterwards adopt my Opinions, and have some regard for my Memory.

As for the rest, though my intention and scope may be plainly perceived by the first Chapter; yet I shall add, that no Men in the World are more remote from any Atheistical Sentiments, more persuaded of the Divinity of the Holy Writ, and more disposed to render to God the Honour and Reverence due to him, than those, who as I am, are opposed to the common Opinion of the Power and Vertue of the Devil. Whoever shall read this Book with attention, and without partiality, will undoubtedly be persuaded of it; at least, I mean, that there is enough to satisfy those, that absolutely reject the Principles of *Descartes*, concerning the use of Reason; and at the same time such as give too much

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much extent to those Principles; and that those two Parties will equally approve of the manner in which I distinguish Spirits from Bodies, and both from God, without however establishing any thing as to their Operations that cannot be proved by plain and necessary Inferences. So that I powerfully confute the foolish Errors of *Spinoza*, who confounds God and Nature together. I believe not that there is any Author, who has more solidly established the infinite difference that there is betwixt God and the Creature, and the inconsistency of the Properties of Bodies with those of Spirits, then I do here; as was necessary to be done to lay a firm foundation to this work, that is wholly grounded upon that Principle, at least as to those things that are the object of the Light of Reason. Besides, I have this internal satisfaction, that I confirm by an evident proof the Doctrine of our Churches, that tends still to diminish the Honour paid to the Creatures, in order to increase that which is due to God. This Book witnesses for me that I set up the Glory, Power, and Wisdom of the Sovereign Master of the World, as much as they had been taken from him, to be communicated to the Devil. I banish from the Universe that abominable Creature to chain him in Hell, that *Jesus*, our Supream King, may more powerfully and securely reign. Though his Empire that is to endure to the last day, is likewise to subsist in the midst of his Enemies, that are here upon Earth, that is amongst the People of the Devil, or such in whom Sin keeps still imprinted the Image of the Devil. With that intention I am not afraid to explain in my second Book several passages of the Holy Writ in another Sense, than they have hitherto been taken: But if by the publishing of such new explications, one aimed not at the Honour of God, and only sought to impair and stain the Reputation of

of

of those that are of contrary Opinion, he should take more to heart his own Credit than the Glory of God. As for me, who have formerly been in Opinions contrary to those I speak of, and which are still held by the greatest part of Men; I willingly propose my present Sentiments, but only with a sincere intention of glorifying God, and bringing Truth to Light. I think not therefore to be blameable for not sticking to the vulgar explications, I had formerly follow'd, and preferring before them those of some Persons, who have not done what I now suppose to be obliged to do. Yet I am not alone in these Opinions; for they are agreeable to those of many others, some of whom have appear'd in the World even after me. And though they have produced and asserted in Writing those new Interpretations and Translations of the Bible, but by way of Exercises, and to shew what subtilty and parts they acquir'd in their Youth, by the alteration of such Expositions as had learned Men for their Authors; yet as for me, methinks that in my old Age I ought to make use of my own Eyes, and to speak with liberty. As for the rest, if there are amongst us, who, to multiply the proofs of our Opinion, and diminish those of the contrary Party, stretch the Holy Scripture too far, that's their own fault, and not ours. We presume to be provided with better Arms, to defend the Fundamental Truths of the Church. But it must be observ'd as a general fault, that the reading of the Bible is undertaken with a Mind full of its own prejudices, or those of its Masters; and that 'tis generally explain'd according to those Notions, without any other Reason or Ground but that of chance, or of some cases that have occasioned the choice of such parts as is then followed. I take the Vail from those prejudices, and shew what Method is to be observ'd to undertake the explication

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tion of the Holy Writ, without any prevention. For I hold it for certain, that none would have explain'd such passages of the said Writings as I here treat of, so as they are usually Interpreted, had he not been imbu'd with a prejudice of the great and extraordinary power of the Devil, or had he not intended to confute some particular Errors. I have already proofs of it; for several learn'd and pious Persons have very much approv'd of my Method of examining those Texts, and the searching into their Sense; and having treated in my Sermons of the chief Points of this subject, I am inform'd that many People shew a great impatience to see my Writings upon it. I have frequently been in Conversations, where the most important matters, especially those that are contain'd in my second and third Book, were discuss'd, and they seem'd partly satisfi'd with my Explications, and in hopes of being fully convinc'd by those they expected from me: I refer my self to their Judgment, to know whether their expectation has been deceived or fulfill'd; being perswaded that if they do not agree to some particulars, yet they will approve of my intencion, and contribute their utmost, that the greatest part of the things I propose may be receiv'd and relish'd. If I were so capricious as to disturb my self on account of what may be said and believ'd of my design, and to make more of the number than of the quality of the Readers, I should undergo great hardships: For I doubt not but most Men, having little meditated upon this matter, will think that I commit a great Sin in publishing this Treatise; not however in reference to the first Book, where I only relate the various Opinions of the several Nations from very credible Authors, without declaring my own Sentiments, or confuting those of others. Neither do I believe that the two last parts will be found fault with, but only the

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the second, where the most important Doctrines are discuss'd, will raise some difficulty, and not please every one. It will especially seem strange, that I make so little account of the Devil, and endue him with such an inconsiderable Power. For matters have been carried so far, that some Men think it a piece of Piety to ascribe many Miraculous Effects to the Devil, and to hold for rash and impious People those that cannot believe, that he does what is testified by thousands of Witnesses. If any contradict their Opinion, he is taken for an Atheist, that is, such as denies the Existence of one God, tho' he is only guilty of the Crime of not believing two, *viz.* a good and a bad. But those that are of your Mind, deserve themselves to be called *Ditheists*, or such as believe two Gods: [as the *Arians*] got the name of *Tritheists*, because they believ'd three Gods [of different nature.] If any desire to put a new name upon me, in reference to my Opinions, I willingly yield to that of *Monotheists*, that is, who believes but one God, and one Saviour *Jesus Christ*; upon whose words I wholly trust, where he says, *Fear not them who kill the Body, but fear him who can destroy both Soul and Body*, Mat. 10. 28. I fear him much less, who has no power either over Body or Soul, and trouble not more my head with the judgments of those that plead his cause, and take his part. *If he be a God, let him defend his Cause*; let him assault, whilst I am pulling down his Altars. Judg 6. 13. *In the name of the Lord the God of hosts, I encounter that Goliath*; let's see who will lend him a helping hand! If any think to have reasons so strong as to confute my Opinion, I desire him to propound them, with as much softness, as I am favourably dispos'd to hear them; but at the same time I intreat him to spare to himself and to me, an unprofitable labour, and to wait till he have read the whole work, from the beginning to the end,

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end, before he makes his objections. By those means he shall perfectly know whether those particular and private places which he has read, and with which he had not been satisfy'd, have afterwards been explain'd, and made worthier of his approbation, by the concatenation of the whole Treatise, and the reasons contain'd in it: For it would be troublesome to view and examine again, all the places of my Answers I would quote. So that it must not be take ill, if I give none to those that shall follow another Method, and would make me waste with them the time that can be better spent.

Revis'd, enlarg'd, and given to the Printer,

March 16.

May 25.

August 1.

} 1691.

I may assure here, that nothing has ben taken off, from what is contain'd in the Edition of *Leeuwarden*. It's true, something has been added in some places, for the better understanding of the matter; as may be seen at the end of the Original, where a whole Chapter has been added, in which, the last Chapter of the *Friesland* Edition is compriz'd. It seeming to me it was convenient to enlarge a little more in that place; more exactly to shew the use and design of the search I make in this First Book, after the various opinions of all Nations, and better to discover the foundation of those prejudices, that have so long kept us from examining the true state of the matters contain'd in the following Parts. Many other additions have been made to the *French* Translation, which it is not needful precisely to mark: The curious may compare the Translation with the Original.

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A N
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
Whole Work;

*What hath been the design of the
Author, and what is his Me-
thod.*

AS the two first Books of this work that I published at first, have been differently received, for Reasons alledg'd in the Preface; It will not be amiss to represent to the Reader, what has been properly my design in these four Books, that I have Intituled, *The World Bewitch'd*, nor to shew what foundation I built upon, and what way I take to find out the truth. For altho I express my self clearly enough in the beginning of the work, and in the Preface to the first part; I know nevertheless, that is not sufficient to destroy the prejudice wherewith, the learned themselves appear more biassed than the Vulgar; which I should never have thought; but it seems at present, I have found out the Reason,

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son, which is, that the most part of those which do not put themselves to the trouble to pass through all the Degrees of the Schools, aspire to Sciences and sublime knowledge, but for their particular pleasure; they are the People that love liberty, and to whom it matters not, who is the Master that instructs them, provided that they may learn something; or if they are greedy of rarities, they have not so much respect to the mode, nor to that which is New or Antient, as to the beauty of the matter, and to that of the work. On the contrary, it is with those who pass through the Schools, as with those who live in Shops, where every one has his way, every Master has his Method in the work he makes. In one Town they make the same things after one fashion, and in another, after another; when one is taken up with the mode, he often rejects what is pleasing, without any other Reason, then because it is not as commonly used in the World. And we have a strangeness for all novelties, so long as they have not the common vogue; altho otherwise, we might approve them, and have them cheap enough; but as soon as Custom has introduced them, one begins to seek them out, and to be disgusted at the former. Sciences are subject to the same inconveniencies. Those that we send to the Schools, continue in the road which has been mark'd out to them for their exercises; they endeavour to form themselves upon the model of those which have most reputation, or of those who are the nearest to their first prejudices; so this is disapproving the part they have taken, not to be apt to take any, and to preserve our own liberty, and thus we expose our selves very much; but one runs a greater risk, if willing to ascend higher, and search things in their Fountains, it happens at last, that we find our selves out of the ordinary Road, and that we are obliged

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obliged to take another. *Hinc illa lachryma, From thence proceeds all disorders.*

The common Opinion of the Devil, of his knowledge, power, and Operations, and of People which are accused of having commerce with him, began by little and little to become very suspicious by the help of natural light, which I have common with others, which was strengthened and purified by the Scripture; so after I had well examined it, I was in doubt, whether I ought to maintain it any longer, or abandon it, not only by Reason of the truth, but also because of the Piety which it seem'd to contradict: My Conscience it self compel'd me to it; for I was obliged to answer those that ask'd me, and to take care of my Conduct, because of the disposition I saw the People in. It was the Duty of my charge, and every Day occasions offer'd themselves, my pain increased every moment, by the continual necessity I found my self in, to speak and act as others did, or to oppose the publick with words or actions, which agree not with my Character, which is to be complaisant, and to agree with all the World, as much as is possible. Besides I found not as yet foundation enough to act after an other manner, which made me at first resolve to make an exact search, after the Original of this common and general Opinion, to know whether it was founded upon truth. But because I make this examination, *à priori* and not *à posteriore*, as they in the Schools, I have proposed the state of the Question, but at the end of the first Book; where I discovered in the 22th Chapter, how many of the Opinions, which I have related; (which are all those that ever were in the World upon this subject,) The Protestants have at last got together, and formed those which they retain to this Day. In the 23th Chapter I compare them with the Opinions
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of other Nations; and in the 24th Chapter, I shew by what means they have been introduced amongst us; and what keeps us so strongly tyed to them: So in the first Book, I examine what is the rise of the Opinion concerning the Devil, and in the following Books, I discover what sentiments we ought to have of him.

An Abridgement of the First Book.

I IN the First Book I run over all the World, to find whence this Opinion has its Original. And for this purpose I have omitted neither time nor place. I observe that the subject ought to be examin'd in two Respects; In respect of the Devil, to find what is his Knowledge and Power; and in respect of Men, to see what they learn and effect by his means. But because these things are preternatural, or are so thought to be, and that by consequence they are known only to God, I have judg'd it necessary, to know what are the Opinions of Men concerning the Divinity, and Spirits in general, either good or bad, and of human Souls separated from their Bodies by death, which are also Spirits: I make a search of all these things, First, in the Books of the Ancients, and afterwards in the Moderns of all Religions, and amongst all Nations, distinguishing them into *Pagans*, *Jews*, *Mahometans* and *Christians*, in reference to the present state of the World. I begin with the Ancient *Pagans*, which are for the most part *Greeks* or *Romans*, known to us by *Greek* and *Latin* Books they have left us: which I treat of in the 2d, 3d, and 4th Chapters; for there are very few Histories of other Countries and other People, which are come to our knowledge. There you see what they believe touching Gods, and Spirits, which are neither Gods nor human

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man Souls ; and as to the estate of the Souls after death : You read there also what means they used to attain that knowledge, and to operate things beyond the power of Nature, by the means of those Spirits, such as they believe them to be. I come afterwards down to our time, and examine all the Pagans in the World ; first in *Europe*, in the 6th, Chapter ; after in *Asia*, in the 7th and 8th Chapters ; then in *Africa*, in the 9th Chapter and at last in *America*, in the 10th Chapter ; which gives me occasion to demonstrate in the 11th Chapter, that the Pagans as well Ancient as Modern, have had a notion of the Divinity, that is all powerful, but that they have associated to him, inferior Gods. That the Greeks have often called them Demons, and likewise Gods, as most of the Pagans do at this Day ; which Demons, or inferior Gods, have every one their share in the Administration of the Universe, directing the affairs of Men under the name and Authority of the Sovereign God, and being as Mediators between him and Men : They converse also with these last, who can, by their means, know and effect things above the power of Nature. This knowledge gives some the name of Diviners, and these Operations cause others to be called Magicians and Sorcerers ; in consequence of which, all the effects that we cannot give a Reason for, or find the cause of, are attributed to these Demons or inferior Gods,

The Souls of the Dead are also ranked amongst the Demons, and according as they have behaved themselves well or ill upon Earth, the good or evil which happens to Men, is attributed to one or the other. It is that which has given occasion to distinguish the inferior Gods, into good and bad.

After the Pagans, which know neither the true God nor Religion, I treat of those which have the Holy Scripture

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Scripture among them, of whom the first are the Jews, having known God a long time before all the others, and received his Word in the writings of the Old Testament, where they have learned, that in truth the Souls of Men are immortal, but that there are no Demons, or inferior Gods, such as the Pagans fancy. That God alone by himself rules the Universe, and that none can have knowledge or produce effects beyond the strength of nature, for that belongs to God only. I observe farther, that Judaism in the state into which it is insensibly fallen, since the coming of Christ, and as it is at this Day, is very much mixed with Paganism, or at least very much infected with it; whence proceeds the practices of Divinations and Sorcery, that are in fashion amongst the Jews, *Chapter the 13th.*

After that I represent, that the Mahometans who acknowledge but one God, and created Angels good and bad, and the Devil as chief of them. That the Mahometans, I say, who have admitted the Books of the *New Testament*, and reverence Jesus Christ as a great Prophet, have nevertheless mixed in all their Opinions, a great many of those of the Pagans, which they have for the most part received, and that they are no less inclined to Divinations and Witchcraft, *Chapter the 14th.*

After the Jews and the Mahometans, who keep a kind of mean between the Pagans and the Christians; I pass to these last, and distinguish them according to the time, before Popery, under Popery, and since Popery. By this means I show, that the primitive Christians since the Apostles, have insensibly introduced amongst them, many Opinions of Paganism and Judaism, which have been increasing under Popery till they attained to the heighest pitch, and that they had ascribed to the Angels, the
Souls

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Souls of the deceased, especially to the Devil, all the Miracles which the Pagans attributed to the Demons, the Devils, and inferior Gods, *Chapter* the 15th to the 21.

In the mean while, I take notice, that among the Ancient Christians, there arose a Sect called the *Manichees*, which had admitted in particular a great many Pagan Opinions, and made the Devil almost equal to God. And I show, that their Opinions have insensibly been propagated, in Christianity, even to our times; after that I come to these last Ages, and to the Doctrines of the Protestant Churches, among which I rank all those that are call'd *The Reformed*, that is, all those that are separated from Popery; upon which I remark, that the more we are remote from Paganism, either for time or place, there's the less credit given to all those things which respect the Devil and his Power. Nevertheless I show, that part of our People, not having comprehended enough, what are the foundations of the Protestant Doctrine, nor in what it differs from Popery, are taken with the common Opinion of Devils, to whom as well as to Men, that have Communication with him, they attribute more easily so many marvelous effects, and so much above the power of nature, then others do, who have more meditated and reflected upon those Doctrines and variations. *Chapter* the 22th and 23.

Lastly having compared all these Opinions together, I conclude that the common Opinion which has been in request amongst us to this day, had it's Original from Paganism, not that the meer use of Reason should produce such thoughts, but on the contrary, the ill use that is made of it. It is because we suffer our selves to be seduced, and blinded by a false appearance of Piety, without having recourse to the light of the Scripture, that we fall
into

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fall into such Extravagancies, with which we are pleased, and love to continue in them. I prove that these are thoughts that never were inspired to the Christians by the Holy Scripture, by reason that those who read it less, and understand it less, give more Credit to these sort of things, and because all the World is already prevented before they read it, and meditate upon it.

For by these Reasons I endeavour to bring the Reader to consider, whether the Scripture gives occasion to believe all those things that are ordinarily said upon that subject, or to believe them so as they are said; or whether such Sentiments have not taken root in us from our tender Youth, and been confirmed by Custom. At best, I have a very strong presumption for that Reasoning, that when we believe before-hand, that such a thing is, there is a great disposition to turn our Reason, and the Expressions of the Scripture to that side, and to believe that the inclination we have of it comes from Reason, and even the Holy Writ leading us thither-to. Moreover, we receive the first Interpretations, and the Commentaries upon the Scripture, from the hands of those antient Doctors, touching which I prove, Chap. 15. that they have been all prejudiced, some more, others less, in favour of many Pagan Doctrines and Opinions, which have unawares given occasion to that Sense in which the Scripture has been expounded by them. These are the Contents of the 24th Chapters, and the conclusion of the first Book.

An Illustration upon the three last Books in general.

It seems to me that for all these Reasons it is easy to conceive, that this first part of my Treatise is not so unprofitable as some imagine. They will
that

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that regard be had only to the second Book, and that the first should not be insisted upon, because it consists but in Historical narrations, which conclude nothing. But as far as I am capable to give a reason for the structure of my own building; I say the Second Book is founded upon the First, according to the proofs I am perswaded I have lawfully drawn by good consequences, *Chapter 14.* For if it were otherwise, I had reason to be surprized; that of so many, who exclaim against my Second Book, passing my First, none has taken notice of my error in this point, and declared it to me, very few having done so much as reflected upon it. But in vain they attack the Second, if they admit the First. They in no wise see the end I aim at, nor the order I have followed, as ought to be done, in an exact search after the Truth. But they undertake to confute my Second Book, because it offers a larger field to their censures, by different things expounded in an opposite Sense to that of the literal; like those ignorant Disputants, who let slip the antecedent Propositions, and deny the consequence that is necessarily drawn from it. I have reason to complain for passing an over-hasty judgment upon the halfe of my Work, without staying till it appeared intire, and they have seen the following Part, and the Connexion; no circumstance of time required that precipitation, for I had not lost a moment to publish the two last Parts, had they not hinder'd it by the disturbances they have given me. I believe not that the whole extent of a project, or its oeconomy, may be perfectly seen, while 'tis but halfe done. So 'tis but at present that some judgment may be past upon this work, since it begins but now to appear altogether, and to be a perfect Body with all its Members.

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The Second Book and the Third, consist in the search after Truth, and what of certainty may be had, as to the Sentiments that have been upon this subject of Spirits, and Men who have communication with them, that is, with evil Spirits. I examine in the Second Book, what concerns Spirits; and in the Third, what concerns these wicked People, who seek to deal with them, according to the division that I have proposed in the beginning of the First Book, *Chap. I. Sect. 8.* As to the Fourth, I shall say hereafter, what connection it has with the former, and its usefulness.

Touching the method I take, to make, by degrees and in order, this *Search after Truth*; if whatever I have written upon this subject, be attentively consider'd, you will undoubtedly know the injustice of those who impute to me, that I offer chiefly new Propositions of my own head; that I take the greatest trouble imaginable to wrest the Scripture, and my reasonings to accommodate them to it; or that I make use of Reason, as of a Rule with which I would measure Scripture, and adapt it to the same. On the contrary, it is impossible not to see, that I never had as yet the least thought of building upon such a foundation; but that I have run through all the World, and all times, to discover where Men may have found the foundations of these Opinions, which I have undertaken to find out. For when one has attain'd to that knowledge, he is in a condition to judge solidly, whether those Opinions or Practices are grounded upon good or bad Reasons. I declare then, that I have not examined all the divers Opinions of the *Pagans, Jews, Mahometans* and *Christians*, as well Ancient as Modern, nor their Doctrines and Practices, with an intent to give explanations of them, nor to maintain them, or confute them, but only to consider

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consider them in themselves, and to expose them as they are, without making any Judgment, or producing any proofs to support or destroy them; which is an extraordinary labour that none would ever undertake, unless carry'd by the desire of truth. So far I lay no foundation. I that am a Christian and a Protestant, and have no desire to become either Papist, Jew, or Pagan. If I found nothing solid in the search I make, I consent that they continue to say and believe concerning Spirits in general, and Devils in particular, all that is wont to be said, and all that can be imagined.

But altho', I have not as yet found the bottom I seek, and that neither Popery, Judaism, nor Paganism considered in themselves, having there withal to furnish me, I have notwithstanding a solid foundation, which is common to me with those People: And I have further another particular, which I have in common but with part of them. The first is reason, which is the light of all men in general, when it is found pure in them, and neither perplexed, nor obscured by prejudices or passions. The other foundation upon which I rest, is, the Scripture inspired by God, which is equally pure in it self; And and to the reading of which we ought also to apply our selves, as if one had never read them; that is to say, with an entire disingagement of all humane prejudices; and from those that may proceed from the versions of the Hebrew and the Greek, which are the original languages in which it has been written; he must meditate upon it, without any regard to the interpretation which have been made by all sorts of Doctors, either Ancient or Modern.

These two foundations are not Subordinate one to the other, but subsist equally together. *Philo* the Jew, loving very much to search allegorical Sense

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in Scripture, and not approving what St. Paul wrote upon the subject of *Sarah* and *Agar*. *Galatians*, Ch. 4. v. 2. has been the first that has applied to the Scripture and to reason the distinction of Mistress and Servant; saying, that you must thereby understand, that Philosophy and humane understanding ought to be submitted to the holy writ. This application is become so familiar to Divines, that it has been received as an undeniable maxime, since *Philo* took a fancy to propose it.

It is however a truth, that reason ought to precede Scripture, because the latter presupposes the former; I understand sound reason, to which the Scripture ought to present it self, and make it self known as divine; after that, Reason comes to the help of Scripture, teaching us things wherein Scripture is silent, and the Scripture likewise comes to assist reason, discovering to us things which are above it, and above the reach of our understanding. We must nevertheless confess, that the Scripture is above reason, not as mistress, for they have every one their particular Empire and Direction: But as being more noble and excellent; because it is in this God manifests to us, things which no humane understanding ever could comprehend, *1 Corinthians* 2. 9. notwithstanding it happens sometimes that they meet both in the same way, where they lodge together in the same house, and by consequence they often lend one another the helping hand, but they do it freely, altho with this difference, that reason as an inferior, always shows a great respect for the Holy writ. When therefore 'tis said a Christian ought to, submit his understanding to the word of God; it must be understood, the understanding such as it is in the Estate of corruption, obscure by the Clouds that surround it, and infected by the Rains that disfigure it. And such it is in respect of things

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things which are above our reach, which are only manifested to us in the word of God; and which we are obliged to believe as Scripture discovers them, altho we comprehend them not. But it does not follow from thence, that we ought to believe those things, such as men teach us by their expositions, or even by their translations, without a great certainty that they are faithful. So then the word of God considered as it is originally, and in it self, and proceeding from God without any respect to the interpretations that have been made by men; and reason not such as is born with us, and when it is perplex'd with prejudices, and blinded with passions, but reason purified by the same Spirit which has inspired the Scriptures; the Scripture I say and reason, are the two only lawful and true grounds of the knowledge we can acquire, as well in things Natural as Spiritual.

But there is yet another distinction to be made upon this Subject, that is, that reason is the ground and rule of our knowledge in natural things, since the Holy writ never treats of them purposely to instruct us, and discover them to us, and that it speaks of them only as of subjects; the nature of which is known to us as much as is necessary to make a good use of them, as well in civil matters as in Spiritual. In what concerns our Salvation, the word of God is the only ground of our Faith, and the rule of our Life without being in the power of our reason, to add, to take from, or to change any thing in it, tho it ought to be employed on this occasion, in two manners; the first is to try the Scriptures that are said to be divine, in making use of the knowledge that Men have naturally of God, to know whether the Scriptures present to them, such Characters of truth as are agreeable to that notion. The second is, to comprehend by the sense

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of the word contained in them, the doctrines there proposed for our Salvation.

Further we must be persuaded, that Scripture and Reason are mutually helping, to one another, in such matters as are of their Jurisdiction; for if the Scripture speaks not sometimes naturally of things natural; Nevertheless as it never proposes any thing false, tis the part of reason to instruct us, after what manner the Holy writ must be understood in these places, according as the matter required; as *Psalms* 19. touching the description of the course of the Sun, and in many other like places. Or if there be any thing in nature, that our proper experience has not sufficiently discover'd to us to pass a safe Judgment, and that we be obliged to rely upon the Credit of others, who perhaps are not much more knowing than ourselves: The Scripture may also in this occasion afford us some light; As in what is said of the Rain, *In the Evening and the Morning in Judea, Jeremiah* 6. 24. the little rain that falls in that Country in the time of Harvest, and the few storms that are seen there, *2 Sam.* 12. 17. of the violence of the East wind upon the coast of *Asia* and *Palestine* in the Mediterranean Sea, *Psalms* 48. 8. and the like. But that which is most considerable is, that the Scripture itself instructs us of some certain natural things, to which the reach of reason should never attain, they are so much above it. Such is the beginning of the World, especially that of Man, by the immediate creation of God out of nothing. And such is the original of the darkness and corruption in which reason and understanding is plunged, as they may perceive by the help of such sound and pure remained light, as is in them.

These are the general Principles I presuppose, which I believe to be such, that there is no Body, in what particular Sense he may be, that will contest them

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them. Upon which I come to examine what is true in all the relations I have faithfully made in my first Book, and which are the Sentiments, or the ordinary Discourses of all Men upon that subject. But it is manifest, that I have not made to my self any particular Principles; and much less put Reason and Philosophy above Scripture: Even the contrary will be seen as clear as the Noon-Day, if you take the trouble to read my Writings with attention, and without Prejudice: For I observe as to this respect, as well as in reference to Comets, (in which Treatise I have followed the same order, of which I am amased it has not been perceived) the Question ought to be discuss'd of one side with relation to Nature, and on the other with reference to Holy Writ; and therefore I begin with Reason, which is inferiour to the two others, to search into Nature as in the lowest School, what it teaches most pure touching God and Spirits, and particularly the Devil. For since the Pagans have presumed to say so many things of the Demons, that they had not learned of the Scripture, of which they had no knowledge, it seems to me that I am not in the wrong to examine what there was that was grounded upon Reason; and of what Opinions it seems to be the principle, or what are those that are derived from another source. But as what I could discover by the deepest and most exact search I could make in that lowest School, is yet but inconsiderable; I ascend a degree higher, where I find a Mistress superiour to this first, that is, the Scripture, that I begin to consult in the 8th Chapter of the second part. Now as in the seven first Chapters, where I walk as in Nature alone, I lay aside Scripture to try how far human Understanding may attain by its own strength; so I leave reason behind, as soon

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as I enter into the Sanctuary of the Word of God, whose Oracles are infallible.

What I say here, that I have no longer recourse to Reason; I understand it in this Sense, that I take it not as a foundation, or as a rule by which I may expound the Scripture; But I exclude it not as a means, by which I acquire the understanding of the Scripture; for on the contrary I cannot want it in this respect, were it not for my Reason and Understanding in relation to God, I should be in the same rank with Beasts; but it is not to Beasts that God speaks, but to Men, that is, to rational Creatures. Reason may act alone without Scripture, in things that are of its Jurisdiction, for Arts and Sciences are the objects of Reason: From thence they proceed, and thereby they are learned, that is, Man uses his own light for that purpose, without having recourse to the instructions of the Word of God, and without having occasion for them. But for the things of an higher Nature, which concern the Will of God, with relation to the Salvation of Man, the Scripture is the true principle and solid foundation upon which our trust is founded; although Reason ought to concur with it, to understand and comprehend under the direction of the Spirit of God, the Sense of the Scripture. So in this second examination of the second part, where the certainty of the knowledge which proceeds from Scripture alone is treated of, I am nevertheless obliged to employ my Reason, to the end it may serve me to examine what Scripture contains; not that it may reach so far as to comprehend the things themselves; but it ought nevertheless to comprehend what the Scripture it self says, and that things are such as it says, although I conceive them not such as they are.

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But see here the knot of the difficulty, that is, that every one crys out, that the Scripture says such or such things, because he conceives that the Scripture says them, and when the Scripture may be understood two ways, we easily embrace the Sense which best suites our Notions. If already, without too much examination, we have suffer'd our selves to be prejudiced with Opinions, of which we would however be better satisfied, and find some more particular instruction in the Scripture; It is not sought with that impartiality and liberty of Mind which are necessary; but we still incline towards the prejudices. If there is the least appearance that we may, by wresting the Scripture, adapt it to the Sense we would have it, we never fail to do all our Endeavours in order thereto, and afterwards imagine to have found there sufficient proofs in favour of our Opinion, because it seems to say what we desire: As we see two Counsellors explain the same Law, each for the advantage of his Client; and that they never want Reasons on both sides to confute the contrary Arguments; so that they appear each to have the right on his side; and that it is very difficult to extricate what they have so much perplexed.

But it is said, that I my self do what I condemn in others; and for me, I maintain that those, who are conscious of their guilt and worthy of censure, cast that imputation upon me, seeing me explain so many passages in another Sense than that with which they are prevented, without any other Reason than because it is ordinarily received. They are persuaded that this change proceeds in me from the same cause that I discover in them. See the true cause that makes them say I wrest the Scripture; not that I really wrest it, but rather that I keep not as a Slave to their Interpretations. But I make, say they, a false Supposition, and after I endeavour

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to give to the Scripture a Sense which agrees to that Supposition ; That may be, but to know what it is, you must examine after what manner I make the exposition of the Scripture ; and whether I turn it towards my prejudices ; and therefore 'tis necessary that I explain a little more clearly every one of the Articles I treat of.

The Principle, they say, I suppose is, that a Spirit cannot act upon a Body, nor upon other immaterial Spirits. That's the burthen of the Song, and what they make me say over and over every where, and is so confidently published, that even my Friends can scarce forbear crediting it ; as there come every day occasions, which make me know it. It is a prejudice that passes from hand to hand from one party to another : It insensibly spreads it self in all the Minds, and in that Disposition the reading of my Book is undertaken : but they seldom read it entire, from one end to the other, as it would be but just and necessary to do ; they only read some separate places, viz. those they are referr'd to, and especially those in which I dispute upon the Operations of Spirits : For I may boldly say, that of those that have read my Book with attention, I find but very few which hold the same Discourses : On the contrary, they take quite another party, viz. that of Truth. So that I defie all those that have read it, to mark so much as one place where I put as a Principle of my Opinion touching the Devil, *That a Spirit cannot act either upon a Body, or another Spirit.* What is then the foundation of this noise, which is so strongly and so generally spread abroad, and which is the cause of the great prosecution that is made against me ? It is this general prejudice which proceeds from the common Exposition of the passages of Scripture upon this ; that is, *That a Spirit, as a Spirit, and so much the more as it is a Spirit, can without*

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without Body act upon all sorts of Bodies, and upon other Spirits. I require proofs of this Thesis; and because this demand is unthought of and extraordinary, and upon which by consequence every one is not prepared, my demand is taken for a Negative. But before I lay my self that foundation, which ordinarily is not call'd in Question, I examine first the Grounds upon which these People themselves rest their Opinion, or upon what they ought to establish it, according to the Idea they have of Spirits: I say, according to the Idea they have of Spirits; for, whether according to the Principles of *Descartes*, they distinguish them from Bodies the more neatly than other Philosophers do, or that they grossly attribute something corporeal to them. These two Idea's nevertheless proceed as yet equally, from that they conceive the Operations of Spirits upon external Objects, whether Bodies, or other Spirits, as a property of the Spiritual Nature; and from that they include them in the notion they have of that Nature: and it is by this means, that instead of considering the Body as an instrument which is necessary to the Operation of Spirits, or at least proper to them, they look upon it as an obstacle to the liberty and virtue of the Operations of a Spiritual Nature. Thence comes that every Body crys out so differently against me, some saying, that *Descartes's* Philosophy has spoiled me, and that is the fruit which is reaped by his Followers, desiring to cast upon it the Errors that they accuse me of: Others, who being in the same prejudice, yet are *Cartesians* at bottom, give out, that I understand not the Philosophy of *Descartes*: But whatever my Learning and Experience be, I intend to have to do but with sensible People, and leave the others at full liberty to pass upon the Doctrine I teach, such Judgments as they please.

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An Abridgment of the Second Book.

As to what concerns my Second Book see the method I have taken. I begin with the distinction of names, in fixing at first, what must be understood by a Body, and a Spirit, to avoid all equivocations: which I have done in the first Chapter. I speak of God in the Second, proving not only, that the supream Being which I denote by that word, is only one, but also that there is not the least communion between it and created things; directly confuting the Opinion of *Spinoza*, upon this subject; which I pretend to do with more force and evidence than any hitherto, because ordinarily they undertake to demonstrate by the most perfect and incomprehensible Essence of God, the manner and virtue of the Operations of created Spirits, which I absolutely reject, as a way which is used to lead us into error. By consequence I cannot admit the arguments which are taken from the nature of God, to demonstrate in what manner acts a Spirit which is his creature, and has nothing common with him, but the name. After, in the Third Chapter, I prove by arguments drawn from the sovereign perfection of God, that there are none of those sorts of Spirits, that the Pagans esteem to be Gods and mediators of Men towards the supream Divinity; because the Reasons of those that ground that belief upon the perfection of God, are directly opposite to this perfection.

We then having taken off the imaginary Spirits, I come to those which we certainly know to exist; that is, our Souls that are a part of our selves, and which by consequence, are better known to us by

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our own experience ; this is treated of in the fourth Chapter, where I prove as much as is possible their immortality, and that they subsist even out of the body : I employ for this purpose, Reason and Scripture, because they are two ways, that equally conduct us to the knowledge of the Soul ; the first by experience and by our own Consciousness ; and the second by the particular instructions God gives us of the estate of the Soul, after this life : but I quote not the Scripture in this part of my Treatise, where I examine but what concerns nature only. Neither do I judge it necessary to do it afterwards, because it is a point that a Christian looks upon, as already sufficiently established ; and supposes it when he will engage in a dispute upon this subject. Besides, I reject as superstitions and fables, whatever, proceeds from the invention of Men, especially of the Heathens, which is the matter of the fifth Chapter. So we come to know with certainty, that such a Spirit, that is the Soul which truly exists, has a body with which it lives, and without which it may still live, and to reject all the other Spirits, of whom the greatest part of the World falsely believe the existence. But besides those Pagan Opinions, we hear every day mention made of Angels, not only by Christians, but also by Jews and Mahometans. The Question is, Whether Reason alone is capable to discover to us, that there are such Spirits, destitute of a proper and peculiar body ? Upon this point I shew in the sixth Chapter, that our understanding without the help of Scripture, cannot penetrate farther, than to comprehend, that it is possible, but not certain, that there are Spirits. For this Reason, I have not judg'd it necessary, to examine the Operations of these Spirits upon bodies, or upon the other Spirits ; because it seems to me ridiculous to trouble ones self with the examination of the Operations.

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Operations of Creatures, the existence of which is not established as certain. And therefore I have spoken in the first Edition, but by the way in verse, which is at present, the seventh Sect. of the sixth Chapter. And therefore it is manifest how wrongfully many People would persuade themselves, that I have composed my work only, *To deny the Operations of Spirits upon bodies, and upon other Spirits.* And besides, that I ground upon this negative, all my explications of the passages of Scripture; but that I may avoid this persecution for the future, I thought fit to insert in the new Edition that is made of my Book, a whole Chapter between the sixth and seventh, so that this new Chapter is at present the seventh, and the seventh is the eighth, and so of the others following. There I pretend clearly to shew, that the proofs related upon that subject, strike not at all to the end, and cannot be considered as true proofs; which I mean as to what concerns nature, and as to what Human Reason may conceive of it self, as destitute of help from the word of God.

After that I come to the word of God, and then I employ Reason no more, but keep to the Scripture only, and I search in it, what it will teach me, touching Spirits, which is now the question; there I find that under the name of Angels, it gives us to understand, such Spirits as are the Ministers of God, toward other Creatures. But there is nothing discovered to us, touching their Essence; neither is their any thing in the History of the Creation, as to their Original, or the manner of their fall; for which Reason, part of them was from the beginning rejected from God; notwithstanding, the Scripture puts these two things for certain, which is the subject of the eight and ninth Chapters.

I consider afterwards the properties and Operations that the Scripture attributes to them, and I endeavour

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deavour to know, what is their proper nature, their power upon other Creatures, either spiritual or corporeal. But the passages that speak of these things do not appear to me to have been understood otherwise, than those that attribute also to certain Men, that is, to Prophets and Apostles, the works that they have done in dispensing the miracles of God. That which gives me occasion to say, that as this dispensation surpasses the force of those to whom it was entrusted, it cannot make us know what was their proper nature, whence I take occasion to infer the same things touching Angels; this is in the tenth and eleventh Chapters.

That which could not be discovered by the means of the name, Original, or Operation of those Spirits, I endeavour to learn by the means of their orders, of which is made an ample mention, in the twelfth, fifteenth, and nineteenth Chapters of my first Book. But I draw not any light from thence, save that Angels, as well good as bad, have each their head; that the Prince of good Angels is called *Michael*, and that of the bad, named *Diabolus*, the Devil; that is in the two and twentieth Chapter.

Yet I leave it not here; I consider again, that the Scripture attributes in many places, some particular administration to Angels, I examined to know what it is, first as to the good Angels in general, in the thirteenth Chapter, whom the Scripture often makes appear, and always for particular revelations to the faithful, either to work extraordinary miracles, or execute God's Judgments upon Men by punishments, or by deliverances. But I conceive not that what is said of this Ministry, is different from what is related of that of those holy Men, who have been employed in the works of God and his miracles, that they in no wise operated by their own virtue;
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by consequence I find nothing as yet which may give me a certain knowledge of the proper Angels, their power, or their Operations.

Afterwards I come to a more particular examination of the principle passages, especially of the manner of speaking of these three persons, which appeared to *Abraham*, of the two others that appeared to *Lot*, *Genesis*, Chapter the eighteenth and nineteenth: and in making reflection upon this History, and comparing it with other instructions of the Holy Scriptures; It seems to me, that I am in the right to conclude, that those Angels, that is to say, those Messengers, were Men as they named themselves; not-being able in the mean while, to determine what must be understood by the Angel of the Face of God, which conducted *Israel* in the desert, *Exod. 23 Chap.* and by the Angels, by whom God gave his Law upon Mount *Sinai*. I propose only my thoughts, and what seems to me may be understood by it, by a Collation of the passages of the Holy writ, which make mention of the manner of that Divine conduct of the Israelites, in the desert, *Chap. 15*.

I pass farther and examine what is said in the Scripture concerning the Angels, with relation to some certain Persons, Nations, and Countries: And I conclude from thence, that what has ever been variously written upon this subject by particular Authors, is not founded upon Scripture, because all the passages made use of to ground those Opinions, speak but figuratively.

At last coming to the Devil, and to the rest of evil Angels, I see that this name has been given as well to ill Men, as to evil Spirits, and even first to wicked Men. So I examine in the 17, 18 and 19 Chapters, what may most conveniently be understood by the *Chief of evil Spirits*; but in making the

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the examination of all the particular passages which are usually applied to the Devil, I find that the name of *Satan* or *Devil*, is used in some of these passages, and that of *Dæmon* and of *Dæmonium* in some others. And that there are several denominations ordinarily applied to the Devil, which obliges me to double my cares, that I may discover what ought to be understood by *Devil*, especially in the History of the fall of the first *Adam*, and in that of the temptation of the second. This is the matter of the 20 and the 21st, *Chapters*. The other passages which contain the name of *Satan*, appear to me to be different from these, of which I treat in the 23, 24 and 25 *Chapters*. I examine afterwards in the 26 to the 30, what are the *Dæmonia*, and those that are called *Possess*. And lastly, in the 31st, *Chapter*, what must be understood in all the other passages, where instead of the name of *Devil*, and of *Dæmons*, others quite different are used.

And therefore as the principal operations attributed to the Devil in Scripture, consist in the fall of the First Man, and the assaults he made upon our *Saviour* in the Desert; Thence I take occasion to examine, Whether those Accounts may serve to the Opinion of the power of this evil Spirit, and of the power of his operation upon Men? But it seems to me, that in the narration of *Moses*, touching the fall of Man, that happen'd by the discourse of a Serpent, nothing is said that ought to carry me to conclude, that the Devil himself can act immediately upon the Soul and Body of Man. Here I keep to that discovery, without going any further. Those that are of another Opinion, find that this conclusion is drawn from that Relation, with a full evidence, and aske how the fall of Man could happen otherwise; rendring themselves guilty of the same fault they reproach me with, by pretending
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to know themselves, how the thing came to pass, and to be able to render the reason of it. But he that judges, ought not to speak of it so positively, declaring he knows nothing of it, and finds nothing revealed upon that point, he is presently accused of denying the same thing it self, and of not believing the matter of Fact, because he grants he is not acquainted with the manner of it. The celebrated *Voetius* has however, explained himself upon this subject very near, as I do, for in the *first part of his Disputes*, pag. 915. speaking of the fall of Man, he says, *upon the Question, to know how, and in what manner? it is not possible to give so satisfactory an answer; but it may be seen that there remains still something, which the weakness of our understanding cannot comprehend, nor likewise how the Devil seduced Eve.*

Examining the temptation of our Lord by the Devil, I agree that the Tempter is the evil Spirit; and I believe that the literal Sense may very well pass, supposing that it was a wicked Man so called. But I shew, that understanding these words of the evil Spirit, literally; the quite contrary may be inferr'd from what is ordinarily gather'd from thence. Thereupon, if I be ask'd how I understand and explain that narration? I answer, That I believe that the thing was done in a Vision. See how *Schultetus* speaks, who as well as *Voetius*, has been a member of the national Synod of *Dordrecht*: in his *Exercit. Evang. Lib. 11. Chap. 3.* the question is to know, *whether the thing really happen'd, or in a vision?* he answers, *it was in a vision*, and after gives some reasons, which however I do not judge so strong as mine. None has right to require from me, that I should precisely explain my self upon the passages of Scripture, and upon others: from which they suppose to draw strong proofs in favour of

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of that Opinion, the truth of which I here call in question; nor that I should declare what sense I give them, especially to those who mention the fall of the first Man in Paradise, and the temptation of our Lord in the Defart. For I have had no other design on this occasion, but to examine whether these passages, understood according to the Letter, afford sufficient proof to make us admit the consequences that are usually drawn from thence, and to establish the common Opinion which is had of the craft and power of the Devil to act upon Men. If it were necessary to proceed farther, and to examine all these passages to the bottom, in order to penetrate their true sense, a whole Book scarce suffices. I refuse not however to do it, and hope to undertake it, as soon as the Divine Providence will furnish me with occasion and leisure.

I shew, as to other passages of the Holy Writ, that they cannot be understood of evil Spirits, but only of ill Men; and of the works of God, not of those of the Devil; tho' without hesitating, these passages are ordinarily applyed to the Devil. I maintain in the 22 Chapter, that it was a Man which brought *David* to number the People, Chap. 23. that the passage, wherein the fight of *Michael* against the Devil, is mention'd, is very obscure, and that there is a great uncertainty in the present Opinions upon that point, as all Divines grant; and that by consequence, nothing can be concluded from them, especially if it be supposed, as some learned do, that the Devil was but a meer Man. I shew in Chap. 24. That the Spirit of *Pytho*n that is spoken of in the 16th Chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*, can no ways be applied to the Devil. Neither does the famous History of *Job*, always alledged one of the first, as a proof of his power, being well examined in its whole extent, attribute
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to him the least part in the evils, which by the Providence of God, happen'd to that Holy Man. As to the Angel of Satan which tormented *St. Paul*, I place him in the same rank with the fight against *Michael*, that is in uncertainty, there being no ground to pretend to a perfect understanding of this passage; and therefore I look upon it as insufficient to prove any thing which is the matter of the 25th Chapter.

But as the Possess are universally alledg'd for a certain proof of the great power of the Devil, and that we read so many times in Scripture, that the evil Spirits have been cast out by our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, I bestow five Chapters upon examining what is in it. I see that the term of *Diabolus*, which we Translate *Devil*, is not found in any of the passages in which those Relations are contained; but only that of *Demon*, which I illustrate in the 26th Chapter. In the 27th I shew, that the most dangerous diseases, especially those of the Head, were usually ascribed to *Demons*, or even call'd by the name of *Demons*; and in the 28th, that our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, has not changed the usual way of speaking, but made use of them according to the custom of that time; neither did he always immediately confute all the errors, in the 29th and 30th Chapters; so that the cure of *Demonia*, was not properly an expulsion of Devils, but a miraculous cure of incurable Diseases.

I come after to other passages of Scripture, where neither the names of *Devil*, *Satan*, or *Demon* are made use of, but those of the *Prince of the World*, *Prince of the power of the air*; *Prince of this Age*, of *Lordships*, *Powers*, *Dominions*, and the like; And I shew that there is not the least cause to apply them to the Devil; but that the Style of Scripture leads us of it self to understand by all these names a certain order of persons.

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Having then examined all, I could not conclude, that the Scripture, considered truly and without prejudice, attributes to the Devil this power and these operations, which the prevention of Commentators and Translators discovers in it: I grant it has been very troublesome to me to be obliged to take this party, and to confute and censure very famous Men and most approved interpreters: It even seemed to me, that I exposed my self very much because I know that a more advantageous opinion is had of those that are not known, and that a Prophet is neither esteemed in his owntime nor in his own Country. For this Reason I did first resolve not to meddle with those of Scripture, where I found my self constrain'd to go from the expositions ordinarily received. But at last, considering that my work would appear but imperfect, and that they would not fail to object those famous passages, to which I should be then obliged to answer; I at last prevailed with my self to venture in the main Sea, and to fly before none that came to attack me; further I do not believe that any one can shew me, that the interpretations that I make, are founded upon the light of reason and humane understanding, or upon any other particular proposition I should have asserted; such as this is said to be, that a Spirit cannot act upon a body, nor upon other Spirits I have made use of for this effect, but of the ordinary means that the knowledge of Languages afford us; so there is no more unjust accusation then that which is raised against me upon this subject.

And therefore when I compare with the analogy of the whole Scripture, with the grounds of our Divinity, and with the rules of true Piety; whatever is ordinarily published concerning the understanding of the Devil, his power, his operations, his apparitions in divers places in the World, his Domi-
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nion, and the Kingdom which he raises against that of Jesus Christ; I conclude not only that they are not grounded upon these three principles, but also being considered with all the necessary attention, they appear contrary to them. In this place I begin to enter into dispute, and to draw my conclusion from arguments which the Scripture and reason furnishes me with; having by the means heretofore established upon those two principles, searched after the ways how plainly and without equivocation to understand the state of the questions which properly and particularly concern the Devil. This is not then the point in question, to dispute of the meaning of those passages which mention the fall of Man, or speak of Angels, some of whom appeared to *Abraham*, and others wrestled with *Jacob*; or of the temptation of Our Lord Christ in the desert; nor of the sense of those that say *David* was tempted by *Satan*, and that *Job* was tormented by him, and the like places; but the Chief point, the scope of all this search, is to know what to believe concerning the Devil.

Upon this I bestow the five last Chapters, and in the three first of these five, which are the 32th, 33th, and 34th, I am not afraid of calling Reason to my assistance; after having shewn that the Scripture is silent upon this subject, for I presume to have made appear in the 32th Chapter, that the apparitions of Evil Spirits are contrary to true Reason, and that the Holy Scripture affords no proofs of it. Afterwards, in the 33th Chapter, I show, that the knowledge that the Devil may have, as well of things Natural as Civil, and above all of things Spiritual, which concern our Salvation, is nothing of what is believed. I rest as yet upon the same foundation of Scripture and Reason, to prove the Empire of the Devil is but a Chimera, and that he
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has neither such a Power, nor such an Administration as is ordinarily ascribed to him, which is contained in the 34th Chapter. At last, after having treated of all those things with all possible exactness, I come to the conclusion of my second Book, where I shew the importance of this examination by reason of the great value the vulgar put upon the Devil, and his Operations in the World. My Opinion is, that these sorts of Discourses shake the Grounds of the Doctrine of our Salvation, and cause a great damage to Piety in divers occasions. I demonstrate the first of these things in the 35th Chapter, and the second in the 36th.

As to the Doctrine, I prove in this place what I have asserted in the first Chapter of my Book, *viz.* that the common Opinion concerning the Devil is opposite to the proofs that *Jehova* is God, and that *Jesus* is the *Messiah*, and that the Books of the Prophets and Apostles are the Word of God. In what concerns Piety, I shew, that the Service of God is thereby greatly weakened; that the Filial fear is very much diminished by that they have of the Devil; that the esteem that the holy Angels deserve, is almost destroyed, that the glory and virtue of the miracles of our Saviour *Jesus*, are very much lessened, that the vanity of Man is maintained and increased; and that the comfort of the humble is cut off, or at least, suffers a great diminution. That is whatever is contained in my second Book.

An Abridgment of the Third Book.

After having thus simply treated of what concerns Spirits, and particularly the Devil, according to the knowledge that sound Reason can furnish us with,

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with, according to that which may be drawn from the word of God, where Reason ceases ; I pass still following the order and division established in my first Book,) to those Men, who, according to the common sentiment, have communication with Spirits, especially with the Devil. The same order to which I have kept in my second Book, is also observed in this ; for in the eight first Chapters, I make an exact scrutiny of all which may contribute to clear the subject I treat of, and afterwards in the seven last, I shew what light the inquiry has afforded me, and how far one can rely upon what I have discovered.

I propose at first the true state of the question, shewing that the query is not, Whether Magick is possible, for I grant it ; but whether there is a Magick, which by the virtue of agreement made between Men and the Devil, may discover hidden things, predict those that are to come, and produce effects above the force of nature. This is discuss'd in the first Chapter.

Following the distinction that I have already heretofore many times set down, I make in the first and second Chapters, the search required, and that first by the light of Reason ; which I divide it into two parts : in the first, I examine, whether it be possible to conceive that Men have any commerce with Spirits ; that the one and the other may rely upon mutual help, or that they may act one upon another. In the second part, I examine whether there is Reason to believe, that there may be express compacts between them ; that they may mutually contract, and reciprocally perform the conditions of their Covenants. I expressly deny the first of these, founded upon the Reasons alledged, *Book 2. Chap. 2.* and I unfold a little more precisely in the 2 Chapter of this, what is contained in the first,

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first, which I defend against the arguments of *Glanvil an English Author*. I bestow the third Chapter upon confuting those compacts of the Magicians with the Devil, as ridiculous and altogether incredible; and I answer at the same time, several objections and shifts of *Glanvil*, convincing him by his own Reasons that are sufficient for that purpose. I pass afterwards to the Scripture, as to an upper School; from the 4th Chapter to the 7th, I undertake it over from the beginning to the end, to find out with the utmost exactness, what it discovers to us upon this point, and upon all its dependencies either by its expressions, or by the examples it affords us. Than I begin to establish what we may believe of it according to Scripture:

As an Introduction to this examination, I relate all the names it gives to that sort of People, to their trade and art, and I compare the difference to be found between the translations of our own Interpreters, as well as between the translation of others.

This examination is but general, but afterwards I come to particulars, whether the Scripture speaks of that sort of People, of their trade and arts, so as it is ordinarily supposed. This I do from the fifth Chapter to the 12th, but finding it expresses not it self as they give out, I examine what sort of People they can be, and what the Scripture really says of them, from the 13 Chap. to the 17th.

I discuss the first of these, as well by Scripture as Reason, and proceed by degrees; searching, first, whether these of whom the Scripture speaks, have a particular communication with the Devil; whether they make their predictions and enchantments by his undertaking or by his power; and at last whether they have between them covenants for that purpose. The passages of Scripture which I examine upon

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this subject, are of three sorts, some contain Histories of that kind of People, and of their Witchcrafts which I show in the 5th 6th and 7th Chapters, viz. In the 5th all the enchantments of the *Egyptians*; in the 6th, those of *Bilſa*, those of the Priests of the Philistins, and of the Witch of *Endor*, and many others, by whom the idolatrous Kings of *Israel* fell into great Sins, especially when they came to the Court of *Babylon*; and in the 7th Chapter, the enchantment of *Simon* and *Elimas*, who are called enchantors; those of the maid servant which was in the Town of *Philippi*, who had a Spirit of *Piſhon*, and those of the seven Brothers Exorcists. Afterwards I come to the examination of the names, of words, of actions, and circumstances, as well by themselves as comparing the Dutch translations of the Scripture, with those which have been made in divers Languages, by different Translators, and by comparing with the texts, the explications which are given by so many different interpreters. All the passages where those things are contained, being examined very attentively, give cause to conclude, that the Magicians or Enchanters have been very mischeivous People, whose Doctrine and morals were very much corrupted; but they do not furnish any probable argument to assert, that these People had a particular communication with the Devil.

The second Order of the passages of the Holy Writ upon this subject, consists of those that contain the express Laws, which condemn that sort of People, and forbid them the exercise of their Function; which I examine in the 8th and 9th Chapters. But I find no other Reasons for those Prohibitions and the punishments inflicted upon them, but their Idolatry and Cheats, both of which are Criminal, and not becoming the People of God.

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The third Order consists in those Reasonings and Proverbial Expressions, dispersed through the whole Scripture, that have relation to those things, either to the Persons themselves, or to their ways. I examine therefore whether nothing can be understood in those places, whence some consequence may be drawn to illustrate the subject in hand: But having bestowed the whole tenth Chapter upon it, I find nothing more than before.

Now as in the third Chapter, I have examined by the light of Reason, whether there is cause to believe the possibility of the communication of Men with the Devil by express Covenants, I do here the same by that of the *Holy Writ*. For in the two following Chapters I run it over again, and insisting upon all the passages, where the least mention is made of Alliances, or Compacts, that are not made with God but against Him, sinfully and with an evil design; I find not so much as one that speaks of those Agreements made with the Devil, or any thing like it. Upon this I bestow the 11th Chapter. In the 12th I run over again the whole Scripture from the beginning to the end; From the Covenant of God with *Abraham*, to our Saviour, and examining whether from whatever has been said upon that subject, there is any occasion to infer, that the Devil may likewise on his part make his detestable Compacts; I demonstrate, that the Opinion, which supposes such Contracts between the Devil and Men, by vertue of which they are said to have perform'd all their Witchcrafts, can by no means consist with what is contained in the Doctrine of the *Holy Scripture*; nor with the Dispensation of God's Covenant, as well before the Law as under the Law, and much less under the Gospel.

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Thus I plainly shew, that the vulgar Opinion of Magick, and of its Dependencies, by no means proceed from the Sacred Writings, but on the contrary is altogether opposed to it. Afterwards we must consider what the Scripture says concerning those that practise that Art, and what Testimony it gives of their Actions. This I do two ways, in the five following Chapters. The first by offering, in the 13th and 14th, the lively Picture which the *Holy Writ* gives of those Men in several places; and the second by showing what Opinion must be had of them according to the Character given them.

But expounding to the Reader the force of those things, I make yet this distinction: That I first offer the Persons to his view, that he may know what might be expected from them; what their aim may be; why they were interrogated; and on what the great Men and the vulgar bestow their time. Afterwards in the 14th Chapter, I consider them in themselves, with their Arts and Crafts, showing the Reasons that moved the People, especially the Kings, even those of *Israel*, to be infatuated by them.

Afterwards 'tis required to know what Judgment must be made of them, according to the *Holy Writ*, which I show in the three following Chapters. In the 15th, I assert, that in whatever they did, they shewed neither real Power nor Virtue; that they knew nothing of what they ventur'd to foretel, or to discover as very much concealed; and that in reality they effected nothing of what they boasted of, or of what they undertook to effect; but that they applied themselves to deceive by outward semblances, wherein consisted the chief part of their Art. In the mean while, as the Holy Scripture seems, by its Expressions in some places, to ascribe

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a great vertue to Conjurations and Enchantments ; I examine in the 16th Chapter, what is the Sense of those places, and I conclude that after an attentive Meditation it will not be found that it says upon that subject what it appears at first to say.

All these things being thus enquired into, it remains to show wherein properly consists all the Evil ; why those Men with their Arts, especially the *Israelites*, that had a hand in their Crafts, are so defamed in the Bible ; why, since that time they have been in as great hatred amongst Christians, who have mortally detested them, and punished them with the utmost rigour ; And lastly, for what Reason the Laws have been so severe against them, and prohibited all their Arts, as well under the Old Testament as under the New. This is the Enquiry of the 17th Chapter. I have hitherto spoken only of those who pretend to a Converse with the Devil, and to be in a Covenant with him ; I add in this place a Chapter, which is the 18th, where I mention those to whom he is an Enemy, whose Mind is supposed to be troubled, or their Body to be tormented by him ; those are the possessed, as they are ordinarily call'd, but I enlarge not much upon that subject, having already fully clear'd it in my second Book, from the 26th Chapter to the 30th, where it came to pass.

Having thus ended the first part of my third Book, I show what Judgment must be made of all those things, which I consider in two Respects. First, I establish from the 19th to the 20th Chapter, what may rationally be thought of it ; and in the last Chapter, I show what is the Duty of a Christian, and how he ought to behave himself in such occasions.

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A double judgment may be formed upon this subject. First, concluding that the Vulgar Opinion is altogether groundless and condemnable, as appears by the 19th, 20th, and 22th Chapters. Secondly, By establishing what must be held of it.

Concerning that first and common Opinion; As in the Writings made against my second Book, some expressions of our Liturgy have been objected, I show in the 19th Chapter, how weak are the Grounds upon which are founded the principal Doctors, whose Doctrines are in short in *Voetius*; and that the Proofs they alledge are not taken from the Sense of the Holy Writ, well examined and searcht into; but only from the external sound of Words, if I may so speak, upon which we are wont to insist, as well as upon the Idea's that first offer themselves to us, when we consider them but superficially. To which I add, that Liturgies must be understood in the Sense of the Scripture from whence they are drawn, and to which they relate in all those places, where 'tis spoken of the Temptations and Seductions of the Devil, Spiritual Combats, Witchcraft, Predictions, Enchantments, and even in all others where the agreeableness of Style, and the Series of Idea's has caused something to be added that seems to have a relation to it. But moreover, in the 20th Chapter, I demonstrate, that the Errors spread amongst the vulgar concerning the Works of the Devil and his Adherents, are absolutely opposite to the same Liturgies; even so far, that amongst the Doctors of the Reformed Church, none but those that are of my Opinion can pretend to conform in this point to what they subscribed when they took Orders; which I understand only as to the Doctrine and Truth. I show again, in the

21th Chapter, that this Opinion makes very bold attempts upon Piety ; that it diminishes the veneration due to God, that it extreamly weakens Faith and Charity , and that it exposes Christianity to the attacks of the Unfaithful , and that it causes great distractions and prophanations in our Prayers.

Lastly, I proceed further and to come to a conclusion, I discover in the 22th Chapter, what must be believed of all these things, and in the 23th I declare what must be done. But as in the 32th Chapter of the 2d Book, I have treated of apparitions in general, I speak here of presages and predictions in particular, examining what is possible or not, as to these things, and to what causes they must be ascribed. These causes, according to the Proofs I have related in this place, are natural, but the Devil meddles not with them: I propose my thoughts in the same manner upon the Conjuring up of Ghosts, the divinations of the pretended Magicians, and all sorts of apparitions and possessions, which are said to be caused by their malice, by Virtue of the compacts they have contracted with the Devil ; and lastly I show what sort of Magick is practicable in the World and which is not.

I declare in the *last Chapter but one*, what opinion must be had of those men that credit Apparations and Witchcrafts ; And stick not however to converse with those that meddle with those detestable Arts ; And in the *last Chapter*, what is our Duty, and how we are obliged to behave our selves in that respect. We must double our devotion and veneration towards God, our moderation and charity towards our Neighbours, our modesty in our actions, and our zeal in the exercises of Piety. Such are the Contents of the 3d Book.

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There would be reason to believe that this subject is exhausted ; but it seems experience carries it above Reason ; and being grounded upon matters of fact and instances, it seems that it will not favour us : Our Adversaries appeal to its Tribunal, and plead their cause with so many strong and aggravating reasons, that it seems they design to overwhelm us by their multitude. This consideration obliges me to add this 4th Book to the 3 preceding, and to examine what experience actually teaches, that it may be no more objected, that by my new Doctrine, I undertake to contradict opinions received and established through all the World ; where almost no place is to be found, but it affords plain instance of the operations of the Devil ; of which I dare even deny the possibility. I distinguish therefore those Instances into those, that any one may gather from his own experience, and into those that are grounded upon the relation of others ; there's no doubt but what one has experienc'd himself, must prevail over all the rest. But to omit nothing, I first show how far one may trust to his own experience, and afterwards how far we may rely upon the testimony of others. I dismiss the first of these questions, in the *first eleven Chapters* ; and the Second in the 21 following, adding two others at the end as a conclusion of the whole.

I distinguish again each of those parts into two others ; having thought convenient to ground upon many examples ; the instructions and illustrations I give upon both, that no body may easily be deceiv'd. What I establish as to the first part is contained
from

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from the *beginning of the 5th Chapter*, and the examples are the matter of the following Chapter to the 11th: But I could not so exactly follow the same method in the 2d part, having thought necessary, or at least useful, in some places, to mix with examples the illustrations I give at first, and with the illustrations, the instances I produce afterwards.

I therefore show in the first part, that there are few Men amongst us, that are capable of passing a solid Judgment upon that sort of things, and that besides that our occasions will not allow either to examine, or to search into whatever could be necessary, to attain to a naked and full knowledge of all the matters of Fact. I ascribe the first of these faults, to the prejudices with which we are imbued, or to the terror with which we are surprized, at the sight and hearing of what passes. This is the subject of the first Chapter: I demonstrate in the 2d, that this cause also proceeds, from that we know not sufficiently how far the strength of nature may extend its operations: In the 3d Chapter I assert, that we know not more of the things, the Images of which nature may only show us, when they are not real, nor we so far knowing as to observe all the tricks of men; nor of sufficient Authority to observe all the circumstances of their Actions: I say again, we are not Skillful enough to penetrate the Force and Virtue of Arts, which encrease proportionably to the exercise we make of them, and of the care we take to cultivate them, and make us look upon meer natural accidents as effects of Magick. Of these I have alledged many proofs in the first Chapter; shewing afterwards in the 5th, that often we want only the occasion to discover the Mysteries of the Artifices of Men, and the secrets of the operations of Nature.

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I begin in the same 5th Chapter, to produce some instances of Apparitions. In the 6th, I speak of the Possessed and Bewitched, as far as I am acquainted with them, and thereupon I declare in the 7th, what judgment I make of that famous Parot, which was thought to be bewitched, comparing that case with another known to me from my own experience. From those bewitchings of the Body, I pass to the Enchantings of the Soul, and mention in the 8th Chapter, what I have seen my self happen to many persons in several places, especially at *Franeker*. In the 2th I describe a very remarkable History, which happen'd in the same Town, and which has been the greatest occasion of exercising my self upon this subject. To this I joyn the Imposture of the *Witchcraft of Campen* that has been lately discover'd, of which I have been informed, both by word of mouth and writing, by understanding Persons that were present, and have themselves laid open the whole Intreague, having had a full knowledge of the whole matter, from the beginning to the end. Wherefore I have inserted the Narration, word for word, in the 10th Chapter. In the 11th I relate the Cheat of the *Ursulin Nuns of Loudun in France*, whose History having been lately published, manifestly discovers the delusions of the pretended Possession, and withal, of the Magick, with which they charged the innocent Priest *Grandier*, whom they caused to be burnt.

The illustrations I have made upon the First Part, make the instructions I am to give upon the Second, more easy. I bestow 12 Chapters upon them, still following the Rules I have before proposed, which to my best knowledge, are universally approved of; viz. To admit as Truth, no Advices, Narrations, nor Testimonies, how confidently soever they may be

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be told, before we have examined them with a full exactness, and made experiments upon all those cases and instances, the truth of which is proposed to us as undeniable.

That I may, if possible, leave no perplexity, on darkness in my work; I make yet a distinction upon this last point. For I propose in four Chapters, all the Instances I have been obliged to insert in several places of my First Book, to facilitate the understanding of the things contained in it, beginning with those that concern the Ancient Heathens that are in the Third Chapter of that Book, and in the Thirteenth of this.

Those that relate to the Modern Pagans, in the 6th, 8th, 9th and 10th Chapters of the First Book, are contained here in the 14th. Those that I have drawn from the *Jews* and *Mahometans* are the matter of the 15th, and those that were afforded me by the *Papists* in the 19th, 20th, and 21st, of the First Book, are confuted in the 16th of this.

Afterwards I run over the whole Universe, from the 17th to the 32d Chapter, relating and examining the most famous examples, and those that are thought to be the strongest proofs for the common Opinion. I alledge first in general, those that are most ordinary and familiar, concerning Apparitions and Magick. Such are the Apparitions of the *Fairies*, that were so much talked of in our Country, as the *Fairy of Rosemberg*, and the like, in the 17th Chapter. In the 18th I speak of those that pretend to be invulnerable to Sword and Musquet-Ball, and I prove that all the Discourses and Narrations made upon that subject, are altogether false. I come afterwards to examine particular Relations. And First, of those that can have no particular name, or properly be called Apparitions, Divination, Witchcraft

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craft, or Possession; because they are made up of several kinds of Witchery, of which Possession uses to be the Principal. This is the matter of the 19th and 20th Chapters. In the 21st, I pass to Apparitions; in the 22 to Divinations; and afterwards to Witchcraft, from the 24th to the 32 Chapters.

I relate but Three Instances of the First sort. The First, is the going out of the Children of *Hamelton* in 1284. The Second, is the Devil *Zechariah*, whom *Volfcius* mentions in his *History of the Churches of Sclavonia*, which Instance I expound in the 19th Chapter, as a *Specimen* of whatever may be invented or practis'd as to this. The Third is, the story which happen'd Twelve years ago at *Bolsward*, that was published with very extraordinary circumstances: I relate it in the 20th Chapter.

I come afterwards to such Cases as have a particular Reference to Apparitions and Witchcraft, or enchantments, if there be any such. Of the First kind, I produce *the famous Devil of Mascon*; And having taken off the vail from the Cheat, I deal in the same manner with *the Spirit of Tedworth*, that was lately brought again upon the Stage to frighten me. The Question is, Whether they have succeeded in that Design? of which, the Reader shall be able to judge by the 21st Chapter. He will likewise find in the 22, a full description of the *Phantasm* that appeared a year ago at *St. Aneberg*; and of another Story which happen'd the last Summer at *Lausanne*, contained in a Letter, written with the hand of a Minister of that Town, whom they would trouble with it, which I think sufficient to shew what Opinion must be had of *Apparitions* and *Phantasms*. But as to *Divination*, there occurs the most singular and ingenious Story which I ever heard of, that happen'd whilst I was writing this Treatise; and having begun at *Lyons* a Year ago, is still in
force

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force to this Day. It concerns a *Man*, who by the motion of a *Wand*, he carryed in his hand, boasts of discovering springs of Water, hidden Gold and Silver, Robbers and Murtherers. I give a short account of the different relations made of it, with the judgments of the learned that are all contrary to one another, and I examine what may be thought of it after a serious consideration,

But before I speak of Magick, I examine in the 23 *Chapter*, such proofs as are drawn from the very confession of those that are detained Prisoners, as guilty of that crime; and I demonstrate, that nothing in the World is less worthy of credit, than such confessions. Thence I take occasion to examine the proceedings and enquiries of the Judges that take notice of it, and show their nullity and injustice.

Afterwards I come to the chief proofs, that have been alledged for Magick, either far or near, long ago or lately; and begin with a case which happened within the walls of our City of *Amsterdam*, in the house of the Orphans about the Year 1570, whilst the Inhabitants profest as yet, the Popish Religion, to which I add another story, which happened at *Hoorn*, in 1670, with that of *Antoinette Bourignon*, which she has related her self; all the circumstances of it having happened in her sight at the Hospital of *l'Isle*. In the 24th *Chapter*, I show what judgment must be made of such stories. In the 25th I speak of that Woman of *Abbekerk*, that thrice publisht, she was become miraculously with Child; and has been held not long ago every where for a famous Magician, in the Years 1658 and 1659.

From that sort of People that are only look't upon as Magicians by the Vulgar, I come to those that have been condemn'd for such, by the sentence of Judges, and by consequence put to Death. I mention

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tion not such as have been set down by *Schottus*, and some other Authors, because it would be to no purpose, since they may be seen in their writings. I only relate such new instances as are come into my knowledge, that I may leave no room to objection, nor be charged of having past by such matters of fact as might have perplex'd me, and to which I had nothing to reply. For that Reason, I first examine what happened in our own Country, from the very time of the Reformation, and mention in the 26th *Chap.* the History of those that have been burnt here for Magick, as one at *Schoonbove*, and 4 at *Utrecht*; as also another story, of one that being accused of the same crime, had been condemn'd to the Rack, by the Court of *Holland*, and was acquitted by the supream Council. This happened in the Years, 1591, 1592, and 1593. Thence I go over to *Denmark*, and in the 27th *Chapter*, I make an examination of that black Art that was said to be practis'd 80 Years ago, at *Kogen* in *Zealand*, a Province of that Kingdom. I likewise examine all the other particular events, worthy to be taken notice of, that happened in that Country, and were published several times in the Danish Tongue, and from that translated into Latin and Dutch. To which I add a story of another unhappy wretch, executed this very Year. From thence I go over to *Sweden*, and in the 29th *Chapter*, I relate what is inserted in the Royal Records, concerning that famous Magick that began to appear in 1669, and again, in 1670; and a third time in 1674, to which I add another sentence delivered to me by a person that saw the execution of it, at *Golnaw* in *Pomerania*.

I afterwards mention the Magick practis'd in the *West of England*, the falsehood of which I discovered

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vered my self, and gave the History of it to the publick. This is the matter of the 30th Chapter. The 31th contains a judicial information made at *Harlingen*, with a letter written to me upon that subject from *Leuwarden*, which contains several other matters of fact concerning Magick, happen'd about the Years 1667, and 1668. I conclude this Chapter with the relation of a case that happened in the City of *Amsterdam* 7 Months ago, which has been lately communicated to me, the particulars of it having been discovered whilst I was writing this 4th part.

Some People may suppose it useless to add narrations of a less consequence, after having shown the groundliseness and delusions of more considerable facts, But I thought, that in reference to the Vulgar, it was convenient to add here another Chapter, that is the 32th, where I relate the *Story of a Child in Friezeland*, it was supposed to be bewitch'd, of which I have had a full account by the letters of his friends and relations; that by this specimen any one may judge of all the narrations of that nature, that are so much credited by the common People; who take such matters of fact for undeniable effects of Magick. As for the rest, should I make an enquiry after all the examples that are reported to prove the Operations of the Devil, I should never compass my end. And therefore I perswade my self, that I have alledged a sufficient number of them to satisfy the Reader, who shall not be able to doubt of their truth; because I have produced such as are most known, lately happened, and in neighbouring places; or at least attended with one of those 3 circumstances, and consequently may be examined with great conveniency and certainty, and testified for the most part, by living persons.

Thus

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Thus I put an end to this Treatise, and make my conclusion, briefly rehearsing all the proofs related in the 4 Books, each in it's place. These proofs show that there are no natural Reasons, nor Revelations in the Holy Writ, no certain experiments, that give us cause to ascribe to wicked Spirits, all the Operations and effects that are generally supposed to proceed from the Devil or from Men, his Confederates. This is contained in the 33th Chapter, whereupon it must be remembred, that what I say concerns only the common Doctrine and Opinion. Afterwards 'tis not difficult to show, how wrongfully such a superstition is cherished and increased, instead of moderating it, or even rooting it out, if possible. In the 34th Chapter, I charge with that fault, Clergy Men and Divines, more than Princes and Magistrates; because the former are more particularly obliged to meditate upon those matters, to watch over the preservation of the Souls committed to their care, and to attempt the cure of a Disease that is so contagious, and feeds upon the very Bowels.

But because 'tis probable, that this undertaking will but slowly proceed, I will in the mean while propose to the Reader and my self, the lesson of the Apostle in his first Epistle to *Timoth. 4. 7. Reject prophane, and Old Wives Fables, and exercise thy self to Godliness.* I show, in the 35th and last Chapter, that this is what I chiefly intend in this work, and that I obtain my end in most of those that undertake the Reading of it, with suitable dispositions. Besides I hold it for certain, that those who take occasion or pretence from thence, to accuse me with error and libertinism, are Men themselves that have not for the word of God, all the deference that could be wishd. This I demonstrate in particular

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cular, with so great evidence, that I have already had the satisfaction to see that my work produced a great fruit, when but one half of it appeared. So that I hope by the blessing of God, it being now finished, I shall gather as plentiful a Harvest, as the sorrows which it caused to my Enemies, whilst I was publishing it, were uneasy and smarting.



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World Bewitch'd.

V O L. I.

*Containing the Opinions of all Nations, from the
first Ages till the present time, concerning God,
Spirits, and their Customs.*

C H A P. I.

*Of the Importance, Necessity, and Usefulness of this
Matter, and in what Order it ought to be treated of.*

I Promised to undertake this Work a long time
ago, and 'tis yet longer since I projected it :
Tis now at last come to its perfection ; but
I am afraid to venture too much by the pub-
lishing of it, my own Experience in several
Occasions, and my frequent Conversing with very
Rational Men, together with my particular Study,
have a thousand times afforded me the occasion to

Vol. I. of the Works of the Learned and Pious Man, John Bunyan, con-

consider, Whether it was possible, that whatever the Vulgar, and the Learned say of Devils, and whatever they ascribe to them, were true? I would not have spar'd so much time as to search into this matter, had not I perceiv'd that the Opinions of most Men, and perhaps of all the World, are only grounded upon an unsure and wavering Foundation. This has moved me impartially to examine several things, which my Calling, and common Conversation offer'd to me. This examination forced my Mind to reject many Opinions which I had admitted at first, only because they were common; though grounded upon insufficient Reasons, as I came by degrees to be sensible of; so that I find that at present I know much less than I formerly imagined to do, especially as to the subject in hand. This, however, I do not say with a design to Censure, or Destroy, what others have Written: I only intend to joyn my Thoughts to theirs for a fuller Instruction of such Readers as love Truth, and are enquiring after it.

SECT. 2. I am not afraid to mistake, if I say, that whatever belongs to this matter has not been exhausted. Those that have written upon it before having been somewhat retarded by Prejudices, that stick to their Mind, though they had freed themselves of many others; for I own they have proceeded so far as to destroy most of the works of the Devil; at least so far as 'twas necessary to free Men from Superstition and frivolous Fears. But, as for me, I would, if it were possible, altogether overthrow them, and not leave one Stone upon another, that should not be demolished. And therefore I try whether I can bring my Countrymen to my Opinion, especially those of my Profession, desiring them to read this Treatise with as little prejudice as I have written; and not to suffer themselves to be per-

suaded by other Reasons, but such as proceed from Natural Light, from a clear Interpretation of the Holy Scripture, and from certain Experiments. I have right to require these Conditions from the Reader, since they cannot be rejected by any Rational Person, that they are a Law to which I submit my self, and that the great consequence of the matter requires them.

Sect. 3. I am Confident, and I hope, that the Reader will more plainly perceive it hereafter, that no point of the Christian Religion is more important than this ; and that no certain and sufficient proofs may be had of all the others, than by rejecting the Opinion commonly receiv'd amongst the Vulgar, concerning the Craft and Power of the Devil. Can it be imagin'd a small Matter to know whether the Devil has a Kingdom upon Earth ; and what are the Limits that separate his Dominions from that of God Almighty ? Or is it unserviceable to examine, whether such a cursed and detestable Creature can do more wonderful things than God ever did ; and consequently, whether the trust we repose in God, and the fear we have of the Devil, ought to be equal ? Such Thoughts ought never to enter into a Christian Heart ; yet they creep into it unawares ; at least I think so, and can scarce doubt of it : for the more I search into this matter, the more it seems evident to me ; that whoever entirely believes all that is used to be ascrib'd to the Devils and his Angels, and all that is commonly said of them, both by the Learned and the Vulgar, saving the bottom of the Doctrine publicly receiv'd and taught in our Church ; he can have no convincing proof that *JESUS* is the *Messiah*, or that there is but one God : And if in this Writing I do not make the Reader very sensible of it, I grant that I have compos'd it to no purpose.

Sect. 4. But if I succeed, it will at the same time plainly appear, that it was altogether necessary to publish this Treatise, because the Vulgar are still confirm'd in their Errors by Men of Letters, and of great Name; who, being full themselves of those prejudices, make use of their Tongue and Learning to lead others into the same Labyrinth. To that end they wrest several Expressions and Histories of the Holy Scripture; which being not accurately examined, nor conferr'd with others, give a great probability to the common Opinion concerning the Devil; but if taken in the ordinary Sense, they prove evidently oppos'd to other clear Expressions concerning the Fundamental Articles of our Faith: It follows, that such a Sense cannot subsist without overthrowing the grounds of our Salvation; that I can hardly bear, since a long time the nicety with which Points of small consequence, or at least of little certainty, use to be treated of; since one cannot discuss them without getting into a suspicion of entertaining Erroneous Opinions; whilst, in the mean time, we are not yet agreed upon Matters of the utmost consequence; or if we are agreed upon them, it 'tis without any foundation: And therefore, since none was ever found fault with for defending an Article of Faith, or giving out a new Explication of it; so I persuade my self, that I do well by publishing the Illustrations upon a matter, on which the whole Edifice of our Salvation is grounded; in order, that whoever will carefully and impartially examine it, may become Wiser and Learned.

Sect. 5. As to what concerns this Book, I will at first set down the subject-matter of it, before the Reader. The design is to examine to the bottom what the Devil can do, and what he really doth; that is, How far his Knowledge extends; either in Natural or Supernatural Things. Either as to the Presence,

as it is conceal'd from Men; or as to the Future, as it is contingent, or possible, and not necessary. Moreover, what Direction or Power he has to operate in Nature, what Communication he has with Men, with the Human Soul, and with all sorts of Bodies? That he should transmute himself into them, or put on their various Forms: That he should act upon the Soul, or upon the Body: That he should direct Thoughts, Words, Actions, and Gestures: What is his Power over the Beasts and Fruits of the Earth; Over the Air and Winds: What his help may contribute to the Knowledge of Man and his Actions. Herein consist *Auguries*, or Soothsaying, Witchcraft, the Art of Conjuring up Ghosts, and of Divining Dreams. All which things are methodically (and in the same order that is mentioned here) treated of in this Book.

Seet. 6. But because the perfect Knowledge of them depends upon another, *viz.* which is the Nature of a Spirit, wherein it consists, and how it's distinguished from that of the Body: (for Devils are undeniably Spirits, and Man is composed of a Body and a Spirit) so it will be necessary in this Treatise to proceed farther, and to examine first the Nature of Spirits, Good and Bad, and then that of Man. Besides, God himself being a Spirit, but infinite and independent, we ought not to pay our selves with the conformity of the Name; but by reason of the manifest difference betwixt the Creator and the Creature, we are obliged more particularly to examine, how much the increated Spirit differs from those that are created; and amongst these last, how much those that are immaterial, and those that are united with a Body, differ from each other.

Seet. 7. How-

Scct. 7. However, such a difficult piece of work cannot be undertaken, without knowing the different Opinions and Practises upon this Subject; and without special Considerations upon them: Now, whoever shall reflect upon what is said and practic'd, as to this matter, through all the World; and withall upon the converse, which Men may have with the Spirits, and the Operations that may attend them, he will undoubtedly desire to be well informed of all these things, that he may distinguish betwixt the Truth and Falshood of those Opinions, and what is lawful and unlawful in those Practises. For these Reasons I describe all the Sentiments that have been receiv'd amongst Men, in all Ages and Places whatsoever, concerning God and the Spirits; what means Men have made use of to conjure them up and down; and what they may be able to operate by the help of those Spirits: whence proceeds a sufficient matter for a more particular examination of what sound Reason, and the Holy Scripture teach us, as to this Point, and what experience testifies of it.

Scct. 8. To treat of these things methodically, I have divided this Treatise into four Books. In the first I propose the Opinions and Customs of all Nations, in all Ages, Countries, and Religions, concerning the Deity, and the good and bad Spirits. I say the Opinions and Customs; for in the matter we undertake to treat of, we must take a special notice of these two things; the Knowledge, and the Action; Since no Fruit can be perceived from the Knowledge, but by putting it into Practice. Besides, we see every where that the Behaviour of Men, either in the Words or Actions, has a relation to the Doctrines they have been taught. For this Reason I have again divided in two parts, the examination of what is contained in the first Book. In the

the first part I enquire what Knowledge may be had of Spirits, of their Power and Operations, according to Reason and the Holy Scripture ; which Enquiry is the matter of the Second Book. In the other part, which is the subject of the Third Book, I examine those Sciences that are said to be grounded thereupon ; as Witchcraft, Divination, Conjuring, and the like. Moreover, as Men use to have recourse to experience, not only in things which are not discover'd by Reason, and of which the Holy Scripture is silent ; but also especially in this Case, in which Reason, and the Holy Writ, are made to speak, according to the certainty which we suppose to have acquired by Experience : This Consideration has furnished me with the matter of the Fourth Book, in which I examine all that Men testify ever to have experienced in themselves, or profess to have done.

C H A P. II

That the opinions of the Heathens, concerning God, and Spirits, are to be found in Greek and Latin Authors.

Seft. 1. **T**HAT we may the better search into the bottom of this matter, it will not methinks, prove unserviceable. *First*, to examine the various Opinions of other Nations, and then those that are receiv'd amongst us. As to Foreign Nations, we have to consider those that are not Christians, and such Christians, as may be called Spurious. The First are the Heathens, who never worshipped one true God, or the *Mahometans*, who keep as the mean betwixt them and us; or the *Jews*, who Worship one God only. The others are *Christians*, who are extreamly corrupted, and plung'd into strange Errors, both as to the belief, and to their Worship, such as those of the *Roman* Communion. After we have observ'd the disposition of all these Nations, she shall more easily examine what is believed and practis'd amongst us. As to the *Heathens*, we must distinguish betwixt the Customs that were formerly in use in those Countries, in which Christianity is at present establish'd; and betwixt those that are still practis'd amongst those Nations, that have not yet been illuminated with the light of the Gospel. We shall now proceed in that order.

Seft. 2. *Europe*, which is now most or all Christians, and those parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, which are in the *Turks* possession, and of which very near one half professes the Christian Faith, were formerly buried under the frightful Darkness of *Paganism*,

as are still most or all the rest of the World. Formerly the *Greeks*, who inhabited those Countries, that are in the Grand Seignior's Dominions, were the most famous People in the World, by reason of their Learning and Religious Worship. Next to them came the *Romans*, and most of the Nations, who still keep Communion with the Pope of *Rome*. For proportionably as the *Romans* extended the limits of their Empire, so they subjected the conquer'd Nations, to the Worship of their Gods, and to their Religion, so that their Doctrine and Worship spread every where, and drew to themselves an Universal Awe and Veneration. From them therefore we must know the Customs of our Forefathers in the time of *Heathenism*; but we cannot accurately discover what was their Belief concerning Spirits, unless we know, at least in general, their Opinions and Practices, concerning God and inferiour Deities,

Sect. 3. But the great difference and Divisions, that were amongst the *Heathens* themselves upon this Account, leave us extreamly in the Dark, as to the Opinions that are to be ascribed to them. However, we may agree upon this, *viz.* to take that stupendous number of differencies for an Uniformity; so that it may be affirmed, that in all Ages, the *Pagans* have Unanimously believed, that there is but one Sovereign God, the First Universal cause of all things; since the First Doctors of their most famous Schools, and the heads of their principal Sects, have generally taught this Doctrine to their Disciples. The Opinion of *Pythagoras*, that Old Father of the Pagan Religion, may be seen in *Lactantius*, who writing against the Heathens, did doubtless not intend to spare them; however he says, that *Pythagoras* owned one God, an immaterial Spirit diffused and extended through all Nature, who gives Life
and

and Sense to all beings. *Plato*, who has deserved the name of *Wise*, by all the succeeding Ages, agrees with him, as to this point, as appears by his discourse to the *Athenians*, in his four Books of the *Laws*. *Gentlemen*, says he, *God in whom, according to the Ancient Testimonies, is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things, penetrates every where, &c.* And *Aristotle*, his great Disciple, who for Two Thousand Years, has been esteemed the Prince of Philosophers, plainly sayes in his First Book of *Metaphysicks*, Chap. the 7th. that *God is Eternal and perfectly good, so that the Eternal and Infinite Life consists in him.* From this capital point they infer this other Belief, that the good and evil, which befall Men, proceed from the First and Universal Deity, as *Plato* more largely explains in the forementioned place. *Equity*, says he, *Eternally attends him, which is the Avenger of those that forsake the Law of God, but happy is he, who sticks to it, and follows it constantly.*

SECT. 4. But how advantageously soever they may speak of the supream Deity, it nevertheless appears, that they do not ascribe to him Independency, nor the immediate direction of all things; since they divided the Government of the World betwixt several Gods, to each of whom they assigned his particular share. 'Tis very probable that the *Caldes* and *Persians*, observing how Human affairs were often here below obnoxious to considerable changes, which proceeded from Heaven, took occasion from thence, to contrive two supream Deities, proceeding from that First being; one of whom they called *Oromasdes*, and gave him the direction of Heaven; to the other, named *Arimanius*, they ascribed that of the Earth. The *Romans* afterwards gave them the Greek names, viz. to the former that of *Jupiter*, and to the latter, that of *Pluto*, whom they at First look't upon as the God of the Earth.

And

And because all the wise held for a certain Truth, that the Heavens surpass the Earth in perfection, they placed the supream Deity in Heaven, and the other Gods under it, each according to his Dignity : And as they conceived that the Sovereign God could never cease from being good, so *Jupiter*, who had the Empire of the Heavens, was in great credit amongst them ; but *Pluto*, the God of Hell, obtain'd but an ill name.

Sect. 5. It is here, methinks, the proper place to distinguish the Doctrines of the *Pagans* into such as had either Religion, or Nature, for their object. In the latter, they enquired after the First and Second Causes of all things, of their Motion and Changes, without any reference to Religion. Thus came upon the Stage *Plato*, with his Idea's, and *Aristotle* with his Intelligencies, *Plato* called *Idea's* the principles that flow from the Divine Nature, that subsists with him, and by which all things subsist ; each of them being as an Engraven Image of him, from whom they all proceed ; so that they all partake of the Nature of their Original, and are such as the principal, from whence they flow. When I confer the sentiment of *Pythagoras* contained in the words of *Socrates*, related in the *Parmenis*, with what *Plutarch* sayes in his First Book, Chap. the 10th, of the *Opinions of Philosophers* ; and *Laertius* in the Life of the same *Pythagoras*, as also *Cicero*, in the First Book of the *Tusculan Questions*. Fifty Eight, wherein he explains the meaning of that Philosopher, it seems to me, that nothing can be better nor more plainly expressed, concerning this subject. As for *Aristotle* his Opinion was that there are substances distinct and separate from matter, who put the Heavens into Motions, supposing Heaven it self *ἄσπερον καὶ ἀσάλευτον*, a Body in a continual and restless motion ; that the Stars are of an Eternal Nature, and

and that what moveth, must be more durable and precede that which is mov'd. Thence he inferr'd, that there are as many permanent and immoveable substances. This is what he teaches in his *Metaphysicks* Book the 14th. cap. 18. And what is called by his Latin Interpreters, *Intelligencies*.

Sect. 6. But when they proceed to Religion, there arise still among them more considerable differencies, which may be plainly perceived in the Book of *Plutarch*, Entituled, *The Opinions of Philosophers*, and elsewhere in the same Author, as also in the Book, which *Apuleius*, a Platonist, more Ancient than *Plutarch*, has written of the Life of *Socrates*. The sum of what he says, comes to this; that the Deitie is divided into Four, as into some Degrees that descend from high to low, and that the three last Degrees are again subdivided into several others, which they call *Θεοί*, *Δαιμόνιος*, and *Ἡρώς*, Gods, Demons and Heroes. Plato, sayes *Apuleius*, has divided the whole Nature into three, with relation to Spirits in particular, believing that there are Gods, Superior, Middle, and Inferior. Of which Three sorts of Gods, it is convenient to say something.

Sect. 7. As to the Superior or Celestial Gods, he sayes, that their habitation is in Heaven, that they are Immaterial and Eternal of their own Nature; but that there are some, which are in some sort visible in the Stars, though others cannot be perceived by corporal Eyes, but only by those of the Understanding. After he has distinguished those Deities into Sexes, like Mankind, that is, into Gods and Goddesses; he mentions these 12, viz. *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Vulcan*, *Mars*, *Neptune*, *Mercury*, who are Six Gods, *Juno*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Ceres*, *Vesta*, *Minerva*, who are as many Goddesses. The dignity of these Celestial Gods, notwithstanding the liberty which the Poets often took to contrive other Accounts of them

them, 'twas esteem'd too high, that it should allow them to descend and converse with Men, though they govern'd their affairs, each in his Jurisdiction. But the same *Plato* believes, the Stars are but improperly called Gods, and only in reference to the Divine and Immutable conduct, that is observable in them. The names of the fixed Stars, which are reckon'd amongst the visible Gods, are contain'd in this Verse.

*Arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminasque
Triones -----*

But leaving those Gods to *Plato*, of whose making they were, the Stars, which are called by Ignorance *Planets*, or erring Stars, were also accounted amongst the Gods; the Sun was called *Apollo*, and the Moon *Diana*, to which these Five were joyned, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, called also the Morning and Evening Star, and *Mercury*, though they appear but ordinary Stars. Another source of the *Pagan* Errors in their Divinity, is the Conformity, betwixt the name of some Stars, and those of their invisible Gods, they believed, that there were Deities in the Stars, who acted by them, or that the Stars were Gods; who having life in themselves, communicated it to other Creatures, as it was believed by *Alcmen*, whose Opinion is related in *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

SECT. 8. We may still perceive some Remains of that Opinion in the names of the Days of the Week, in the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* Tongues, as well as in *Latin*, for they still name by one of the Seven Planets that Day, on which they believe them to have a particular Influence. As *Luna Dies*, *Lundi*, *Munday*, *Maunday*; *Martis Dies*, *Mardi*, *Duigsdag*, an Abbreviation of *Dyffenday*, which is still in use in *Zealand*, and *Brabant*. *Mercury Dies*, *Mecred*, *Wednesday*,

nesday, *Woensdag*, from *Wodensday*, the Day of *Woden*, the name of *Mercury* amongst the Ancient *Germans* and *Dutch*, because he was the God of Merchants, and the Messenger of the Gods; *Jovis Dies*, *Jeudi*, *Thursday*, *Donderdag*, because *Jupiter* was esteem'd the God of Thunder; *Veneris Dies*, *Vendredi*, *Friday*, *Vrydag*, from *Freda*, the Ancient name of *Venus* in the *Dutch* and *Saxon Tongue*; whence it comes, that the *Frisons* called that Day *Freed*, and whence undoubtedly comes the *Dutch* word *Vryen*, to Court a Woman. *Saturni Dies*, *Samedi*, *Saturday*, *Saterdag*. *Solis Dies*, *Sunday*, *Sondag*, but in the *French Tongue*, it has lost it's Ancient name, in remembrance of the Resurrection of our Lord, and is called *Dimanche* from *Dies Dominica*.

Seft. 9. Let us proceed from the Gods to the Demons, or Spirits of a meaner Order. *Thales of Miles* taught, if we believe *Plutarch*, *Κόσμος διπλοῦται πάλιν*, that the World is full of Spirits, namely, the Air, which they inhabit, and the Earth in which they converse amongst Men; the Greek word *Δαίμων*, comes from *Δαίω*, I know, as signifying one that is very Learned, because they believed that those Demons knew whatever is important to Men, either for their Happiness or Misery, and that they were as the Mediators of Men towards the Gods. And 'tis observable, that *Δαίω* likewise signifies to Mediate, so that the Demons import so much as Mediators. And therefore they have also been called *Διαιτηταὶ καὶ Διοικηταὶ ὧν ἀνθρώπων*, the Mediators and Directors of Men, and have been placed according to the Opinions of the Heathens, betwixt the Heavens and the Earth, viz. in the Air, and consequently betwixt the Gods and Men.

Seft. 10. Though the Opinions were divided, as to their Nature, yet they agreed in these principal points, that they were Spirits, that they were Mor-

tal, and however, that they were no Gods, as *Plato* writes in his *Timæus*, which explaining more at large in his *Convivium*, he says, that the *Demons* have a Nature which is the Mene betwixt God and Men, Πάν το δαιμόνιον μετὰ τὸ θεὸν καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.

But what virtue have they? "That of explaining and declaring to Men, what things belong to the Gods, which are their Commands, and how Sacrifices must be performed; As also, that of offering to the Gods, what comes from Men, viz. their Prayers and Sacrifices, so that they being in the middle, comprehend the Nature of both, as binding and uniting the whole together.

Sect. 12. As to their Administration, *Plato* explains it thus. "From them come to us Predictions, Auguries, the worship of Sacrifices, Conjurations, Orations, and the whole Art of Magick. "The Deitie meddles not with Men, but those Spirits are the Directors of all the communication and converse of the Gods with us, either waking or sleeping. The Demons therefore being by their Nature Mediators, betwixt the Gods and Men, and being besides, Spirits, and almost Gods, could not be better called, then *Spirits of a middle Order*, in relation to their Nature; or *Mediating Gods*, in reference to their Functions, in how great consideration those Spirits were, and what was the Sentiment of the Antients concerning them, may be learned from *St. Chrysostome*, *Tom. 6. Less. 66.* Entituled, *Against those that say, that the Demons direct the Affairs of Men.*

Sect. 12. But, what will be most useful to observe, was, that there were Demons of a Superiour, and others of an Inferior Order; and that some were esteemed Good, and others Wicked Δαίμονες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί, Good and favourable; whereas the other were *Κακοδαίμονες*, Evil Spirits, or by a more

more particular explication of their Qualities, Κακοί, πόνερες, συγχοί, χαλεποί, *Wicked, dangerous, Enemies, Cruel.* However, these Demons, either good or bad, were not believed of all Nations, to be of the same Dignity. There were some, amongst whom, Δαιμόνιον, imported as much as *Deity*, and Δαιμόνιον, Divine, even in *Plato*, the Sovereign God is called, Μέγιστον Δαίμων, *the greatest Demon.* However the general use was to distinguish the Gods from the Demons, as has been already observed, and as *Aeschines* expresses it in his *Ctesias*, O Earth, Gods, Demons, and Men, whoever ye be, that desire to know the Truth! and therefore *Plato*, in the place already quoted, may rightly say, Ὅτι οἱ δαίμονες ἔσσι πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ εἶναι, *that these learned and middle Spirits, are in great numbers and several kinds.* But 'tis not necessary to speak more of it, for perhaps it would only induce us into several errors; there is so much uncertainty in *Plato*, and others that have written upon it, they are so much opposed against one another, and even to themselves.

SECT. 13. As to the *Heroes*, they were extraordinary Men, and so far above the vulgar, that every where, especially amongst the *Romans*, they used to consecrate and deifie them, after their Death, which was called Ἀποθέωσις, a *Canonization.* *Herodian* in his Fourth Book, Chap. 2. makes a particular Description of that Ceremony, with all the Circumstances of it, on occasion of the Death of the Emperor *Severus*. Besides we generally find in the writing of the Ancients, that they paraell'd them with the *Demons*; *Plutarch*, relates in his *Opinions of the Philosophers*, Chap. 8. Book First, That *Thales*, *Plato*, and the *Stoicks* believ'd, that the *Demons* were Spiritual substances, and that the *Heroes* were Souls separated from the Body, which were good or bad, as Men had been Virtuous or Vicious, this was especially the Doctrine of

of *Pythagoras*, who in all things that relate to Religion has had more Disciples then any of the Ancient Heathens, and is yet the most followed by those that are not Christians. He teaches that those " Demons and Heroes brought in Dreams, Diseases, " and Cure to Men, and even to Cattle, and labour- " ing Beasts; according to the Testimony of *Diogenes Laertius*, confirm'd by *Plato*, and not contradicted by *Aristotle*.

Sect 14. *Apuleius*, in the Book formerly quoted, more particularly demonstrates, that the powers, which put the natural passions of Men into motion, which govern them, and Lord it over them, as also the Souls separated from the Body, are called *Gods*, and *Demons*, or *Spirits*; that the Soul born with the Body, dies not however with it; and that she bears the name of *Genius*, when they are separated from each other. This meaning cannot, methinks, be better express'd, than by naming those Souls, *Associated Spirits*, or *Spirits peculiar to one subject*, since every Man has one within himself. The others, that is those that are separated from the Body, or the Souls of the Deceased, are commonly called *Manes*, as though remaining, because they remain or subsist after the Body; for which reason, I shall name them, *Surviving Spirits*. However, as to the Latin word, it seems rather to be derived from *Manis*, an Ancient obsolete Term, which signifies *fine* and *good*; as *immanis* imports, as much as *Ugly* and *Cruel*; because the *Manes* were ordinarily taken for Benevolent Spirits.

Sect. 15. Some of this last sort remained in the House of the deceased, to watch over his Successors, and were called *Lares*, or *Domestick Gods*; but the others err'd at random, and as Exiles, according as they had deserved by their wicked Life: They could cause but vain Fears to virtuous Persons.

sons, but to the vicious a just Terrour, and all sorts of Pains. They were called *Lares*, *Night Phantasms*, and *Spectra*. *Diogenes* writes, that most of those things were taught in the School of *Plato*, as it still appears by his Book, Entitled, *Phædo*. They had also the name of *Lemures*, which is supposed to come from *Remures*, and this from *Remus*, Brother to *Romulus*, who frightfully imagined to see the Ghost of his Brother *Remus*, after he had killed him. If those Narrations were true, such Spirits might be called terrifying Spirits. *Quid* in the Fifth Book of the *Fæsti* plainly says what must be understood by that Name.

Mox etiam Lemures animas dixere silentum.

The Soul of the Dead had the Name of *Lemures*.

Sect. 16. The *Lares*, or perhaps the *Geniuses* are called by *Macrobius* in his Third Book of the *Saturnalia*, Chap. 4. *Penates*, that is, *Born together*, *Quasi penes nos natos*: For, as that Author pursues, 'tis by them that we breath, by them that we have our Body, and by them that our Soul subsists: But 'tis better to call them Gods, and Governors of Countries, to distinguish them from the *Lares*, who were particular to each Family, as they were both distinguished from the *Geniuses*, and look'd upon as taking care of the exterior of Man, as the *Geniuses* did of the interior. However it must be confess'd, that there is but Confusion and Darkness to be met with in the Books of the Heathens, concerning those Names, and their pretended Signification, they having not well known themselves what they Worshipped, as Gods, or as Spirits; neither need we take much trouble in unravelling what they themselves knew not; since the memory, both of them, and of their Demons, is long since extinguished upon Earth; This being

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the Lot of the Heavens, and of their Gods, Jeremiah, cap. 10.

SECT. 17. Whether this last sort of Gods, or Spirits, were called *Genii, Manes, Penates, or Lemures*, it plainly appears that they believed the Immortality of the Soul; which Opinion being confounded with that of *Daemons*, gave occasion to contrive those sorts of Spirits. *Plato* in his Book *Of the Soul*, Entituled *Phædo*, induces *Socrates*, speaking near his Death in these Words. *Above all, the Soul must be immortal, and unperishable, and consequently it must go to live, in ædæ, in invisible places; or, as others pretend to infer from the Etymology of the Word, in agreeable Places.* *Marcilius Ficinus* has Translated it in Latin, *apud Manes, by the surviving Spirits*, as I have named them above; but a little after he Translates, *apud Inferos, in the Subterraneous Places*: which proceed from that they placed the Soul of the Deceased under the Earth. *Cicero*, in the first Book of the *Tusculan Questions*, SECT. 26. shows both in these Words. *We believe, that the Souls survive because all our Reasonings lead us to that Opinion. Reason ought also to teach us where they are; whence Ignorance has taken occasion to invent subterraneous places, because Bodies being put into the Earth, and cover'd with Earth, (humo, whence comes humari to be Buried) thereof it has been believed, that the Dead still live under the Earth.* Now *Adæ* is the same word which the Interpreters of the New Testament sometimes Translate by that of *Hell*, sometimes by that of *Grave*; none of which agrees with the Sense of *Socrates*, or that of *Plato*: For at the end of the forementioned Book, *Socrates* derides *Crito*, who asked him how he would be buried. He believes, says he, *That I am that dead Body which he shall see anon*; signifying, that they might indeed Bury his Dead Body, but as to him, that is, his Soul, he should

should pass, *εἰς μακάριον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν*, to the *as-
sur'd Felicity of the Blessed*: which very much differs
from the Grave or Hell. And therefore 'tis certain,
that *Socrates*, who spake so, believed the Soul to
Be Immortal, and that *Plato*, who writ his Words,
was of the same persuation.

Sect. 18. But there were others, who tho' they
were of the same opinion, yet having not acquired
so much insight into the State of Souls separated
from their Bodies, invented *Transmigrations* and
Purifications. The *Druids*, so famous amongst the
Ancient Gauls, held together the *μετεμύχαισις*,
or Transmigration of Souls, with their Immortali-
ty; For they unanimously taught, according to the
Testimony of *Cæsar*, Book 8. Chap. 18. *Non interi-
re animas sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios* :
Souls die not, but that after Death they pass from one
to another. The antient Egyptians were of the same
Opinion, and *Herodotus* writes, that they were the
first who taught the Immortality of the Soul: For,
says he, *their sentiment is, that the Soul being depriv-
ed of the Body, passes into another Body, which is then
born; and after she has thus walked through all sorts
of Bodies upon Earth, in the Sea, and in the Air, she
at last returns into a human Body.* Thence it was
that *Pythagoras* had his Doctrine, which he brought
over into Greece, whence it passed into Italy. *Lactan-
tius* explains the Opinions of that Philosopher in his
Seventh Book *de Proemio*, Chap. 8. In these words;
*Pythagoras as foolishly asserted, that the Souls passed in-
to other Bodies, from the Bodies of Men into those of
Beasts, and from those of Beasts into those of Men again,
and that his own had formerly been that of Euphor-
bius. Plato and several others have partly followed him,
which we shall be obliged frequently to mention here-
after.*

SECT. 19. But *Socrates*, as *Plato* relates in the fore-mentioned Treatise, which contains his last Words, leads the Souls to some places, where they shall be Blessed or Tormented, without Bodies: He sends those who shall have done Good into the Upper and Aetherial Regions, where he believes the most pure part of this Orb to be, and where the Soul shall Eternally live without the Body, in an unexpressible Felicity. Whereas he condemns those of the Wicked to the *Tartarus*, which is a deep and frightful Abyss, where they shall be punish'd according to their Deserts. From that Gulf of Torments he draws four Rivers, to which he gives as many Names, very fit to express his Notion, viz. *Oceanus*, a precipitate Torrent; *Acheron*, a Torrent of Torments; *Pyriphlegeton*, Conflagration; and *Cocytus*, Bemoaning. Here Sinners, who have not been altogether incorrigible, are to be purged with many Pains and Vexations, more or less, longer or shorter, according to their Deserts. There you have the original of Purgatory, or of that purging Fire, still believed by the *Roman Church*. However, *Socrates* gives out that Narration but for a *Chimera*: For before he begins it he calls it, *μύθον καλὸν ἀξίον ἀκούου*, a pretty Fable worth bearing; and at the end he says: But no Man of Sense ought to maintain that Opinion so, as I have related, though I esteem it rational and just, to show that it goes very near so, in reference to our Souls, and their Habitations; since it plainly appears that the Soul is immortal. These Words of a Dying Man, who exhorts those that were present to be at all times ready for Death, persuade me more and more of what I have already said, that the Heathens express'd themselves variously upon these Matters; and that they speak otherwise, when they consider them in reference to Religion; than when they conceive them in relation to the enquiry after

after Natural things; but at the same time they show, that they were not very certain of what they said, nor of what they believed.

CHAP. IV.

That those Opinions, are the Source and Basis of the Art of Divination.

THE Opinions of the Heathens concerning Spirits, being thus explained in short, will give us an easie understanding of whatever is read in their Books, concerning their Customs and Practises upon this Subject, and the Arts that arose from them; These Arts were directed to two ends, to which Man is always inclin'd of himself; that is, to know much, and to do much. Divination was used to acquire an unlimited Knowledge, and Magick, to produce wonderful effects. Our present design necessarily requires to speak clearly and distinctly of both.

SECT. 2. As to the First, we find in the Authors, and in several others, that every one was eager to obtain the favour of the Gods, whether great or little, and that they earnestly sought to please the good Spirits, and to turn off the evil. To this end they built Temples, establish'd Forms of Prayer, consecrated Priests, offer'd Sacrifices, instituted Festivals and Games of all sorts. Besides that, they used several means to discover the designs and inclinations of the Gods, together with the happiness and misfortune of Men; to which they supposed to attain, either by the Knowledge they might receive from the help of the Demons, the communication of the Penates, of the Remures, by the means of Oracles,

cles, Conjurations and Witchcraft, or by the observation of the influence of the Stars, the motions of the Air, the dreams of sleeping Persons, by conjuring up Ghosts, by enchantments, for which they made use of Carcasses, by Prognosticks drawn from the days of the year, the hours of the day, or the meeting of Men and Beasts. Whatever was practised as to this point amongst the Romans, was called *Divination*, that properly signifies an exercise of things concerning God, of which, Cicero has written a particular Book. *Polydore Virgil* in his first Book, Chap. 24. relates, in what consisted all those Arts, Wherefore I shall extract out of that Author, and several others, what is necessary for the understanding of this matter.

SECT. 3. There were two sorts of Divinations Anciently in use amongst the Greeks and the Romans, the one was rightly called *Natural*, but the other *Artificial*; they held for a *Natural Divination*, whatever a particular, free, and voluntary Action of the Mind of Man, without the help of Reason, or any Conjecture, or Prognostick, portended as future, as it often happens in a Dream, and even without Sleeping in the Fits of a raving Fever, thence the Goddesses called *Furies*, had their Name, and 'twas believ'd, that some Priests, and even the *Sibyl Erythraea*, had begun to utter their Oracles in such Paroxysms. *Jupiter Hammon*, and *Apollo of Delphos*, gave their Answers in such a way, and by such sort of People, of which their Priests themselves boasted. And as those Persons were esteem'd sincere, and to act in the course of Nature, the vulgar ascribed to their affected fury, what a long Observation and a frequent experience caused them to discover, or to foretell, upon concealed or future things. The chief and most famous of those divining Arts were *Astrology*, the Art of *Haruspices*, or foretelling, by the

the inspection of the Bowels of sanctified Beasts, besides *Auguries*, and casting of Lots.

Sect. 4. *Astrology* was called by the Greeks, a Conjecture drawn from the Stars; so that *Astrologers* may be named *Divines by the Stars*, the communication of the Gods with the Stars, of which mention has been made before, the operations of those Celestial Bodies, and the influences upon the inferior part of the World, and upon Men, and even upon one another, gave occasion to believe, that from thence may be drawn conjectures useful for Mankind; but I shall not inlarge upon this point further; because I treat of it as far as 'tis necessary in my *Examination of Councils*, Chap. 8. where is to be seen, what rank is to be given to those that are called *Genethliaci*, or *Planetarii*, which we usually call *Fortune-tellers*; who by the inspection of the Stars, especially of the Planets, in the instant that a person was born, foretell what inclinations, what fortune he shall have, and of what sort of death he shall dye; which Art is not yet abolish'd in the World: but because there will be occasion to speak of it afterwards, I shall present the Reader only, with a short account of the three others.

Sect. 5. *Donatus* derives the Word *Haruspices*, and *Haruspicina*, from *Haruga* a Sacrifice, and *Exta* Entrails, it being the Art of foretelling future things, by the inspection of the Entrails of Beasts, that were sacrificed to the false Gods, as tho' those Gods had imprinted some signs on the Bowels of the Victims that were offer'd to them. To this sort belong the Cases recited by *Apian* in his second Book of the Wars of *Alexandria*, and by *Cæsar*, namely, that no Heart was found in an Ox, which *Julius Cæsar* sacrificed, the first day that he sat on the Golden Seat; wherefore the Diviners told him, that such a sitting could not prove happy to him.

Sect. 6.

SECT. 6. To those Arts *M. Tullius* adds two others, viz. that of *Prodigies*, and that of *Lightning*. *Prodigies*, *Ostenta*, comes from *Ostendendo*, to *show*, to *signifie*, because when something extraordinary in Nature offer'd it self to the sight, they drew presages from it; as it was done, if we believe *Herodotus*, in his 7th Book, when a Mare was big with a Hare. at the time of the invasion of Greece by *Xerxes*, for from thence the Divines conjectured, that his powerful Army should flye before the Grecians, as a Hare before the Hunter. Such accidents were also called *Portenta*, *Monstra*, *Prodigia*, *Signs* and *Monsters*. Such also were *Thunders* and *Lightnings*, *Fulgmina* and *Fulgura*, as *Virgil* says,

De celo tactas memini prædicere quercus.

The thunder'd Oaks foretold me that event.

— *Auspicium*, *Auspice*, and *Augurium*, *Augury*; the former so call'd, from viewing the flight of the Birds, and the latter from observing their Song and Cry, made the whole imployment of those that were called *Auspices* and *Augures*: they were very famous amongst the Antient; for at Rome, that sort of Divination was preferr'd before all the others; and the College of *Augures* was extreemly revered. No Affair of importance was undertaken without consulting them, to know whether it should succeed, or not. That so much exalted Art observed the Birds three ways, in their Flight, in their Singing, and their Eating: As to their Flight, they made their observations upon the *Præpetes*, that is, on swift flying Birds; as to the Singing, they drew their conjectures from *Oscines*, or Singing Birds; and as to Eating, they observed the young Chickens. Amongst the 4th sort is ranked the case of the Emperor *Augustus*, from whose hands an Eagle took a

piece of Bread, whilst he was yet a Child, carried it into the Air, whence softly coming down, she let it fall; which gave occasion to the Diviners, to foretell the happiness of *Augustin's* life, if we may believe *Suetonius*. To the 2d, way or the Divination by Singing, this Verse of *Virgil* may be applied,

Sæpe sinistra cava prædixit ab ilice Cornix.

Th' ominous Crow foretold it on an Oak.

For the 3d, sort, they used the *Tripudia solstima*, which were a sort of Skipping and Dancing, during which, if the Chicken fell upon the Meat, that was fall'n from his Bill on the ground, called *Solum*, and swallow'd it greedily, it was a happy Omen; whereas, if he let it stand, an ill-success was to be feared. Thus was foreseen the defeat of *Hostilius Mancinus* by the *Numantines*; because the Chickens had refused to eat, and were fled from their Coops.

SECT. 8. *Sortilegium*, or Casting of lots, was a disposition of some Letters mixed together, and drawn at adventure, by the first Child to be met with; those Letters were engraven on the Bark of an Oak, according to the antient Custom, and disposed as many different ways as was possible, to see whether they should render some Sense or none. Whence the good or bad fortune of the Inquirer was inferr'd. When *Tiberius*, says *Suetonius* in his Life, undertook a journey into *Dalmatia*, and at *Pavia* consulted the Oracle of *Geryon* by Lots, he was obliged to make use of another way; for he was answered that he should cast Golden Dice in the Spring of the Fountain *Apona*; which having done, it was the greatest point that appeared to his Eye, which is still to be seen under water at this day.

SECT. 9.

Sect. 9. There is yet another way of Divination, famous, even in the Holy Scripture, viz. by expounding of Dreams. I shall be obliged to speak of it more at large another time; because the *Oni-rocritici*, or *expounders of Dreams*, are not yet banish'd out of the World, and that some, especially of the French Court, begin to revive that Art. As to the Heathens, as often as the Demons, Geniuses and *Larvæ*, medled with their Dreams, it was to offer them something particular, by which, according to the usual Rules of their Art, they might know the good or bad success of future things.

Sect. 10. Our Ancestors in the time of Paganism, had amongst them a Custom of that nature, as *Tacitus* relates. 'Divinations, and casting of Lots' says he, are as much in fashion amongst them, as any where else. They cast their Lots in a very simple way, for they cut the branch of a Fruit-tree in several little Lots, on each of which they make a particular mark, and then Confusedly throw them on a piece of white Cloth. There the Priest, if matters of State are treated of, or the Father of the Family, when it concerns him, or his house looking to the Heavens, lifts up thrice each little Lot, and gives the explication of the marks printed on them; if they dissuade, no farther consultation is made that day; but if they allow to proceed, they go to the Diviners for an Answer. There is yet another particular way of predicting amongst that people, by the means of white Horses, that were never back'd, and are kept together in a Forest at the Publick Cost. They hunt them, and the Priest, King or Governor sitting on a consecrated Chariot, observes their Neighing and Foam. There is no Divination more esteem'd than this, not only by the People, but even by the Great Men and the Priests: the

latter are look'd upon as the Ministers of the Gods, and the Great Men as those that are nearer and better known to them.

Seft. 11. But 'tis not sufficient to have explained the names of those 3 or 4 ways of making the Heathen Gods speak; for tho' they be the chief, yet I find that several others have been in use, call'd by the Greeks, *Necromancy, Pyromancy, Aeromancy, Hydromancy, Geomancy, and Chiromancy*: the 1st. relates to the dead, the 2d. to the Fire, the 3d. to the Air, the 4th to the Water, the 5th to the Earth, the 6th to the Hands. *Polydore Virgil* gives us a description of each of these Arts, in the 23 Chapter of his 1st. Book.

Seft. 12. *Necromancy*, or the Divination by dead Bodies, is made by something perceived on a Corps, which gives occasion to the foretelling. The ignorance of the Greek Tongue has made some believe, that *νεκρῶς*, which signifies dead, was derived from the *Latine*, as tho' it had been *Negros*, from *Niger* Black, which mistake caused *Necromancy* to be call'd the *Black Art*; which name is us'd at present to signify all sorts of Witchcraft, Inchantments, and Diabolical Illusions. Under this sort is comprehended *Sciomancy*, or *Divination by the shadows* in which they conjured up the Ghosts or *Shadows of the dead*, to foretell future things. It would be a great proof of the power of this Art, if what *Lucan* relate in his 6th Book, were true, that a Ghost conjured up, foretold the whole success of the Battle of *Pharsalia*. *Sciomancy* differed from *Necromancy* herein, that the latter requires Blood, and made the dead Bodies appear, whereas the other conjured up only Ghosts.

Seft. 13. *Pyromancy* was, according to *Polydore* a *Divination by Fire*, when they supposed to know something by the means of Fire, for which purpose Observations were made upon Lightning, or some

some other extraordinary Fire. Instances of it are to be read in *Livy*, and in the First Book of *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, where 'tis related, that the Wife of *Tarquinius* the Ancient, seeing a Flame surround the Head of *Servius Tullius*, foretold, that he should become King of *Rome*.

Sect. 14. *Aeromancy*, or the Divination by the Air, consisted in observing Tempests, and extraordinary Clouds; as when *Pliny* relates in his Second Book, that there Rain'd Iron in *Lucania*, which in his Opinion signified, the Defeat of *Crassus*, by the *Parthians*. He likewise relates in his First Book of the Second *Punick* War, that there Rained Stones in *Picenum*, which he takes for a forerunner of the Evils, that *Hanibal* was bringing to *Italy*. Those Divines are called in the Hebrew Bible יִדְּוֹנִי *Jidnoni*, Diviners by the Clouds; amongst this sort may be ranck'd the *Capnomancy*, which consisted in observing the motions of the Smoke of Sacrifices

Sect. 15. *Hydromancy*, or the Divination by Water, arose from something particular, which they fancy'd to see in the Water. *Varro* relates upon this occasion, that a Youth saw in the Water, the Image of *Mercury*, who declared to him, in 150 Verses, the whole course, and all the events of the War against *Mithridates*; *St. Austin*, in the 9th Book of the *City of God*, says that *Numa Pompilius*, the Second King of the *Romans*, was the Inventer of that Art, and that by the illusion of the Demons, he made appear upon the Water, the Images of the Gods, who gave him Laws, for governing his People, with goodness and Justice.

Sect. 16. *Geomancy*, or the Divination by the Earth, was made by the Observation of the Clefts and Chasms, of an Earth quake, I could not find any particular Description of it, tho' I was never so inquisitive after it; but I suppose, that to this may be

referr'd, what is related by *Livy, Decad. 1 Book 7. Sect. 6.* concerning *Marius Curtius*. 'In the same Year (which was according to the Calculation of *Calvisius* 357 before Christ;) either by an Earthquake, or some other strange commotion, almost one half of the Market of *Rome*, was swallowed up. There was a great Depth, and most frightful Chasm, which could not be fill'd, what trouble soever was taken for it, tho' People carried Cattle thither continually. The Oracles of the Gods were consulted, and the Diviners answer'd, that the things in which the principal Strength of the *Roman People* consisted, must be Consecrated to them in that very place, if they desired to establish for ever, the Republick of *Rome*. And as they were troubled to know, what was the thing to be Consecrated; a warlike Young Man called *Martius Curtius* derided it, asserting, that the chief Strength of the *Roman People*, consisted in Valour, and an undaunted Courage, to confirm which, he got on Horseback, and precipitated himself into the Abyss.

Sect. 17. Chiromancy, or Palmistry, considers the Lines of the Hands, to know the Fortune of Men, whereupon *Juvenal* says in his 6th Satyr.

---Frontemque manumque
Præbebit vati,

His Hand and Head, he'd show to the Divine.

Whence appears, that *Physiognomy*, that is, according to the Etymology of the word, the Knowledge of Nature; but by use, the Observation of a Man's Shape, must be comprehended under this sort, for this Art foretells things by the Looks, the Features and

and Lineaments of the Face, by which the Genius and Humour of Men are to be discovered.

Self. 18. Now all these things are natural, tho' they were abused to attain to a supernatural knowledge. But Art was made use of in other means, which were the works of Mens Hands, that might well be called a *Bewitching Pomp*; in that ranck was contain'd the *Axinomancy*, a *Witchcraft* made with an *Axe*, *Hatchet*, or the like Tool. The *Lecanomancy* another *Witchcraft*, in which they used a *Caldrea* full of *Water*, on the bottom of which, they fancy'd, that the Demons came to walk. The *Catop-tromancy*, a *Witchcraft* made with *Looking-glasses*, in which they supposed that blindfolded Children saw what 'twas desired to be known. The *Keskinomancy*, in which they used a *Seive*, and a Thousand other *Impertinencies*.

C H A P. IV.

That all the different sorts of Witchcraft, that have been in use, proceeded from the same Original.

SECT. I. I have hitherto treated of those Arts, that to say properly, are Sciencies, supposed to be acquired several ways, by the Communication with the Gods, or with the Spirits. Now I shall Treat of Magick, which refers to Action. That name is now determin'd to that particular practice, tho' it has been given in general to all the other Sciencies, of which I have spoken in the foregoing Chapter. It comes from the *Grecians*, tho' it be not a Greek word. 'Tis universally believ'd, that it is a *Persian* word; now that Tongue had Anciently many things common with the *Hebrew*, as well in the Stile as in the Etymologie; But in *Hebrew* הגה *Hagah*, signifies to consider, to reflect and מהגה *Mahgeh*, thinking Person, one who tells Secrets and Mysteries. I have explain'd what the *Magi* were in my Commentary upon *Daniel*, Sect 62, where the matter required it; they were at first honest Men, who endeavour'd to penetrate into the secrets of Nature, by lawfull means, and attained to the performance of things above the common Belief, *Nam quod ego apud plurimos lego, Persarum lingua magus est, qui nostra sacerdos.* for as I read, in several Authors, a *Magus* in the *Persian* Tongue signifies a Priest in ours. These are the words of *Apuleius* in his *Apology*, and *Plato* calls, *Magick*, Θεῶν Δεγμάτων, the Cure of the Gods, and

'and Porphyrie ~~ὁ~~ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ says, that Divines and
'Physicians were called by the *Persians*, *Magi*; which
'title was given to both in the Countrey. *Hesychius*
'likewile says, that a pious Man and well inform'd
'in the knowledge of Divine things, or a Priest is
'called *Magus*, Θεοσεβὴς καὶ Θεόλογος καὶ ἱερεὺς; and
'*Cicero de Divinatione*, *sapientum* & *doctorum genus*
'*magorum habebatur in Persis*; amongst the *Persians*,
'the *Magi* were look'd upon as Wise and learned
Men.

Seet. 2. 'Tis very probable, that when those
Men were got at Court and in great esteem amongst
the Vulgar, their Art was not sufficient to keep up
their Reputation; then they begun to use Craft and
Cheats, and even some of them, abused that Art so
far, as to joyn Malice to Deception, and not to
spare either the Goods, or the Blood of several Per-
sons; so that as on the one side, the Pagans extream-
ly honoured that sort of People, because of their
Wit and parts; so they despised them upon another
Account, and had a great hatred for them. Thence
proceeded that some have Anciently been famous in
the Magick Art, as well for the good, as the bad
use they made of it, as *Apollonius of Tyanis*, whose
Life has been written by *Philostates*, and *Elymas*,
who resisted *St. Paul*, *Acts*, 13. Verse 8. And the
Wisemen of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, who were called to
expound the Dreams of their Kings. *Gen. Chap. 4.*
Verse 8. And *Daniel*, *Chap. 2. Verse 4.* Even *Moses*,
Daniel, the Wisemen of the East, who sought the
King of the *Jews* newly born; all those Men were fa-
mous for Magick, tho' Authors speak variously of
them, either with or against them, there is so much
difference betwixt the same Sciences and the same
Actions, by the good or bad use that is made of
them. Nevertheless, it was properly that Art, to

which we now give the name of Magick. *Agrippa* of *Nettinheim*, distinguishes it in Two sorts, one of which may be called *Natural Magick*, and the other *Artificial*; because the first having Natural causes, produces Natural Effects, but the Second being an invention of Art, Nature has no share in it's Operations. I mean that as it is necessary in all Arts and Handicrafts, that Nature should supply the matter and power of Action, tho the Workman employs them this or that way, only by the rules of his Art. It goes even so with the Artists of whom I speak, and not as with a Husbandman, who can only prepare the Ground, cast his Seed upon, or plant a Tree upon it, but must expect the Harvest and Fruit from Nature it self, holpen with his Art.

Sect. 3. They believe, says *Agrippa*, that *Natural Magick* is but the highest Degree of power, in Natural Sciences; for which Reason they call it the *extream and last perfection of the knowledge of Nature*; saying, that it is the active part of Natural Wisdom, which, by the help of Natural power used in proper time, operates wonderful effects, and raises Admiration. The *Moors* and *Indians* made a special use of that Magick, that is, as much as it was able to produce effects, by the power of Herbs, Stones, and other things of the same kind. Moreover, says again *Agrippa*, for that Reason, Natural Magick is that, which penetrates the Virtues of all Natural things, and which with a subtil discerning, having exactly searched into their Inclinations, and Sympathies, discovers so far their secret powers, that by them it produces wonders, which amaze Humane understanding; not so much by Art, as Nature, to which, as to its Sovereign Art submits it self, and only lends her the helping Hand. Thus we can by Natural ways produce ripe Fruits before their Season, and even insects,

only

only by supplying the want of time, by Natural means unknown to other Men ; as it is done, tho in a less Degree of perfection, by Gardners, each of whom, strives to be the first in getting early Fruits, helping Nature by Art, and still however by the means of Nature her self. The difference only consists in this, that a *Magus*, who wholly gives up himself to his study, penetrates much farther into the knowledge of the power of Nature, than the Vulgar, and even those learned, who care not to take that trouble upon them. But as all these things are done without the particular assistance and concurrence of God and the Spirits, they concern not the present question ; however we mention them, that we may learn to distinguish them from the subject in Hand, and all its dependencies, of which we intend to give a clear and undeniable notion.

Seet. 4. We have hitherto seen the Magick of the Pagans, included within the bounds of Nature. Now I desire the Reader to remember what I have said in my Commentary upon *Daniel*, *Seet. 26. viz.* That to the Magick antiently in use *Mathematicks*, *Physick*, and *Divinity* were ordinarily conjoyned ; some giving up themselves to one of those Sciences, and others to another, whence proceeded a difference of Names, betwixt the Students of Magick ; some of whom were called *Mathematicians*, and others *Physicians*, or by a more odious name, *Poisoners*. The former applied themselves chiefly to perform wonderful things ; and the others to perpetrate Wickedness. Amongst their Wonders may be counted the Wooden Dove of *Architas*, that fly'd, and the Statues of *Mercury* that spake ; but the employment of *Poisoners* was to annoy Men, their Goods and their Beasts, by many things commonly unknown. And having learned the Virtues and Properties of them by their Study, they put them in use

use in such a concealed and imperceptible way, that one could scarce believe what he saw effected; and this is, what they really operated. But as to what they boasted of besides, or perhaps, imagin'd themselves capable of; it was, that by the virtues of Simples, and some other Drugs mixed together, they could transform Men into Beasts, Beasts into Men, Beasts and Men into other Beasts and Men, conjure up Ghosts, or raise the Dead out of their Graves, &c.

Sect. 5. Now we must speak of Magick meerly *Artificial*, which may rightly be so called, because Nature has no share in it; but that is a work of Art alone, which however presupposes Nature; one may also very fitly give the names of Witchcraft, Conjurat[i]on, and Inchanting in general, to all the various practises that are made of it; for we call Witchcraft whatever is operated by the power of the Devil, with the communication of Men, which is never done, without using some sort of Conjurat[i]on, and Inchanting. That Art which required of its Professors a particular way of living, always consisted in the use of some certain Signs and Words, that they utter'd or wrote, and in extraordinary Gestures, in consideration of which, the Demons were ready at all times to discover to them hidden things; and to operate in their behalf, supernatural Wonders. This was therefore the opinion of the Heathens, that besides natural Magick, they believed themselves capable of producing the most wonderful effects by the power of Demons, whom they knew how to make comply, by their Conjurat[i]ons, to whatever they desired.

Sect. 6. We must carefully observe this, because, *natural Magick* is not commonly accurately distinguished from the *Artificial*, either by the Antients or by the Moderns; and that which belongs to one,

is

is frequently attributed to the other : even those that meddle with it, having committed as many mistakes as the others. 'For some of them, says *Agrippa*, are come to that height of Folly, as to believe, that by the different Concourse and Aspects of the Stars, with the interposition of time and proportions duely observed, they may, in a certain instant, acquire a sensible Idæa of Celestial things, and a Spirit of Life and Understanding ; which being Interrogated by them, will give them Answers, and discover 'em hidden things. On the other side, they ascribe to Nature what is above her power, which I cannot better express, than by the very words of *Agrippa*, who proceeds thus. 'I desire you to take notice, that those *Magicians*, not only rake up into natural things, but even in a manner remove Nature out of her place; which they endeavour to do by Motions, by Numbers, by Gestures, by Sounds, by Voices, by Congregations, by Lights, by the Inclinations of the Mind, and by Words. Thus it was that the Inhabitants of *Pisli* and *Marfi* conjured Serpents, and put them to flight ; thus *Orpheus* by his singing allay'd the Tempests, for the sake of the *Argonauts* ; Thus, as *Homer* relates, by some certain words, the blood of *Ulysses* was stopp'd. There was a punishment ordained by the Law of the 12 Tables, to those that should use such sort of Inchantments against Corn.

Señ. 7. It must not seem strange to us that things should be so, in the *Pagans time*, for Magick consider'd in general, and in it self, was esteem'd, because of its depth, and honoured as Divine, taking the word in the sense of the Heathens, and as it may be attributed to their Deities, which have been described before. Besides, *Magick* was revered, because of Efficacy and Power, beloved for its

its serviceableness in the good use of it, but hated and detested, by reason of its malignity, and the disturbance it caused, when it was abused. The same *Agrippa* will tell us, in the words of *Porphyrus*, which was the opinion of the most ingenious Heathens upon that subject. *Porphyrus* says he, treating of *Witchcraft*, and of the *Magick* of Divine things, concludes at last, that it may render the Souls of Men capable of receiving Spirits and Angels, but he absolutely denies, that one may approach God by that Art.

CHAP. V.

That we see still amongst the present Pagans, the same Doctrines and Practices.

WE have spoken as much as it was necessary for our subject, of the Doctrines of the Ancient Paganism, which reigned in the Countries we inhabit. We have also spoken of the Nations, who introduced most of those Arts and Sciences, of which we treat. It is now fit to consider the Modern Heathens, to know how far their Sentiments and Practices concerning Spirits can reach, without the Light of the Holy Scripture, which never shined upon them. It is the more necessary to enter into that examination, that we shall see, withal, the Customs of very many Nations, and that the proofs they shall furnish us with, of the uniformity of Opinion, (that which we contend to be amongst the Heathens) will then be more general and extended, then such as are drawn from the Writings of those we have already spoken of, of which *Christianity* has taken place; since they inhabited only a small part of the World, and have given us in their Writings

tings, but a slender account of the other Heathens. So that all these others, the number of which is far more considerable, are absolutely unknown to us.

Sett. 2. Experience teaches us, that we cannot better divide the World, then as into three great Islands ; one part of which was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, though not perfectly : The second part is come to our knowledge, since about two hundred years : The third is yet for the most part unknown. The first is called for that Reason the *Antient World*, divided into *Europe, Asia, and Africa*. But in the North of *Europe*, which continent is not much greater than one half of the other, there are still many Heathen Inhabitants. In *Asia* the Christians are hardly the tenth part of the People, and about the third part of the rest follow *Mahomet* ; so that the greatest number is still Pagans. The *Mahometans* take up the North of *Africa*, and the Heathens possess the two third parts Eastward : The half of the third part is filled with *Mahometans*, and the other half by imperfect Christians. In the new World, called *America*, or the *West Indies*, the Southern part is almost as big as *Africa* ; and the Northern, which is not yet fully known, is perhaps as big as *Asia*. All that Country is Heathen, save a small number of Christians, gone thither from *Europe*, viz. some Spaniards, Portuguese, English, French and Dutch, who bring over from time to time some Heathens, though very few, to Christianity ; at least, the English are now very earnest in it. In the mean while, those Europeans may inform us of the State of those Nations, as to what concerns their Belief and Religion, of which they have gotten a great knowledge, by the Commerce they have with them. But as to the Austral Country, (which is known only by the Conjectures that we can make

make upon its Circuit (their being no Inland Sea) 'tis perhaps as big as *Europe* and *Asia* together. Now that great part, having never been enlightned by the Doctrine of our Saviour, must be presumed to be still altogether Heathen.

Señ. 3. But it will perhaps be said, to what purpose is all that Narration? I answer, that having shown the Reader that three parts of the known World, consider'd as divided into five, are still Pagan, he cannot but infer, that we are not sufficiently informed of the Customs and Sentiments of the Heathens concerning Spirits, by the Books of those Nations that subsist no more, and who never made up the tenth part of the Inhabited World: and therefore we must not keep there; but 'tis likewise fit to examine the Opinions of those many Nations, who are not yet Christians, whose uniformity upon this question, notwithstanding so many other things, in which they differ, and with all the great distance of the places they Inhabit, which cuts of all manner of Communication betwixt them; so that the greatest part of the one never heard so much as one word of the other: That Uniformity, I say, is an evident proof of the good, which the common light of the Understanding remained in Man after his Fall, has preserved in him; and of the evil which the general corruption has brought to the same. And when we come to the examination of the Sentiments of the *Christians*, that will help us to distinguish betwixt those general Truths, and those impure mixtures of Corruption. For these Reasons, I shall now speak of the Belief and Practices of the present Heathens.

Señ. 4. But I need not to treat largely of it, for an entire Volume would not suffice. Neither do I intend to write a History, but only to give Instances, in order to show what the most part of the Nations
known

known to us, think in this matter. 'Tis not convenient to proceed in this enquiry farther, then it's requisite to show that all those People agree together, as also with the Ancient Nations, tho' there is never so great a difference in their Language, Country and time. The way is already more than half traced out, by the diligence of *Carolinus*; who, in his *Modern Paganism*, has extracted, out of more than 50 Authors, whatever the Heathens of our time Believe and Practise as to Religion, in all *Asia*, *Africa*, and part of *Europe*. 'Tis pity he has not lived long enough, to inform us of the Opinions of the new World. It would have proved very serviceable to me, for it would have spared me the trouble of consulting a great many Writers, whence I have extracted them.

Seet. 5. In the mean while it will not be useless to observe, that all the Authors which *Carolinus* has follow'd, and which I am likewise oblig'd to follow, are *Christians*; and therefore they have set down the Belief and Worship of those Heathens, only upon the particular Information they received from the Heathens themselves, or the things that they saw them practise, so that they cannot afford us such a clear and neat knowledge of what they relate, as is that which may be gathered from the Writings of the Ancient Heathens, who have themselves, in their own Tongue, treated of their own Affairs. And therefore we cannot relie so much upon the descriptions of the present Heathenism, which are made by *Christians* who undoubtedly have but seen or learned part of the Sentiments and Customs of the People they speak of, and who perhaps, are not disposed to make such a simple and natural relation of them, as could be desired. Now I find that all those Writers are in the same prejudice, when they tell us, that there are many Nations who
adore

adore the Devil himself, vexing themselves with grievous pains, and cruel torments, to be his Martyrs: But the mistake of those Authors, seems to me to discover it self, for he that has been quoted before, says in the 7th Chap. of his 1st. Part, *pa.* 56. *That Trigaltius testifies, that most of the Chinese interrogated the Devil, or Familiar Spirits, as they call'd them, of which there are many amongst them, and that they esteem it rather a Divine, than a Diabolical operation.* I believe that 'tis the same with all the other Nations, who are accused directly to adore the Devil, and am perswaded, that if the thing were strictly examined, it would be found, that they have not so much as a Notion of what we understand by the word *Devil*.

Sect. 6. For 'tis easie to conceive that those that have not the same knowledge and sentiments of God with us, cannot also have the same Ideas of the Devil, that the *Christians* have, since he, that knows not God after the manner of the *Christians*, cannot also know the Devil; and that is impossible that any rational Creature should know the Devil as he is, and adore him. For as to what is said by the *Apostle*, concerning the Heathens, that *they offer their sacrifices to the Devils*, 1 *Cor.* 10. 20. 'Tis not expressly said to the *Devil*, as to the Chief of the wicked Angels, no more then in *St. Matth.* 25. 41. But to him, as the Chief of the *Demons*, of which we have formerly spoken. And 'tis observable, that the *Greek* word used by *St. Paul*, is not that of *Devils* but *Demons*, which is the name the Heathens gave to a sort of inferior Gods, as has been already said. After that Observation, let us see what conformity may be found, betwixt the sentiments of the Ancient Pagans, and that of the Modern Heathen, as to Spirits; we shall begin with *Europe*, thence proceed to *Asia*, and *Africa*, and at last, go over into *America*.

C H A P. VI.

That this Conformity must be sought, 1st, in the remains of Paganism in Europe.

SECT. I. **I**T has been already said, that there are some *Pagans* in the extremity of *Europe*, especially in the *Northern* parts, but they are so brutish and wild, that it is easier to see what they do, than to conceive or guess what they believe. They are *Laplanders* and *Finlanders*, especially those *Swedish* Dominion, with whom we are best acquainted, by a description drawn from the best Authors, which *Scheffer* has made in his *Swedish Lapland*; and therefore I shall declare as much as I judge convenient for my design; First, what he says of these, and afterwards what is added of the others; yet without giving credit to whatever is written, of which I scarce believe one halfe to be true. This however, is certain, that those People, tho' under the Dominion of Christian Princes, viz. those of *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, and *Muscovy*, are as fond of their Pagan Superstition, and continue as zealously, tho' secretly, their antient practises, as they have little knowledge of *Christianity*, and inclination to embrace our Faith. In the mean while, *Scheffer* has made of late such an accurate description of *Lapland*, and upon such certain information, that one may, methinks, surely relye upon what he says; and as he frequently intermixes in his Narrations, other *Laplanders* and *Finlanders*, it may be probably inferr'd that he esteems them all very near alike in Belief and Worship: which may be confirm'd by this reason, that what other Writers say
of

of those other Nations, is pretty agreeable with what *Scheffer* relates of *Swedish Lapland*. And therefore I shall follow him only, tho' I ought not to say him only, since his Book contains whatever the others had written before him. Let us then First see, which are the sentiments of those Pagans, and afterwards we shall speak of their Magick.

Sett. 2. The objects of their Worship are divided into three sorts, as into so many degrees: the most sublime are *Thor*, or *Thordeen*, which is properly the *Thunder*; *Storjunkare* or *Stourra-passe*, which signifies *Holy and Great*; and *Baiwe*, that is the *Sun*. The first has also the name of *Tiermes*, which in the *Laplandish* Language, is as much as *the noise of the Thunder*, because that God is believed to be the Master of Thunder, and seems, therefore to be their *Jupiter*. He is also named *Aijeks*, that is, *Great Father*. The *Laplanders* ascribe to him an absolute Power over the Life and Death of Men, over their Health and Diseases, and over the wicked Demons, who live on the top of the Rocks, Mountains and Lakes. They believe that he restrains those Demons, when they vex Men too much; that he chastises them, that he sometimes Thunder-strikes 'em, and puts 'em to death, esteeming it to be the chief employment of the Thunder, as the eminent *Latins* imagin'd that *Jupiter* cast his Thunderbolt upon the wicked, and all other Criminals; for that purpose they give him a Bow, which they imagin'd to be the *Iris* or *Rainbow*, that he might dash his Arrows, wound and kill all the wicked Demons. They call in their Tongue the *Iris*, *Aijeke dauge*, the great Fathers Bow, that is, the Bow of the Good and Beneficent God, who preserves them as his Children, and defends them against the Insults of those wicked Demons. They imagine that God has likewise a Hammer, which they

they call *Aijewetchera*, with which he strikes on the Neck of the Demons, and breaks their Head. *Storjunkare*, or *Stourra-passe*, which signifies the Governor of the Country, is amongst them as the *Great Pan*, or as *Diana*, having the Country and Woods under his directions; Fishes and Birds are also at his disposal, and all Animals and wild Beasts, acknowledge his Empire, 'tis by him that they are happy in hunting, and without his leave they cannot catch any thing. True it is, that *Aijeke* or *Tiermes* governs Gods, Demons, and Men; but *Storjunkare*, in quality of Vicar of that God has the conduct of all those other things. *Barwe* that signifies the *Sun*, as *Paiwe* does the *Day*, is adored by them for the good he does to the Earth, but they particularly venerate him in Summer time, because they always see him, that he has restored them his Light, dissipated their Darkness, brought Heat and expel'd Cold.

Sect. 3. The *Manes* of the Romans, mentioned before Chap. 2. Sect. 15. Are among the *Laplanders Inferior Gods*, which they call *Sitte*. They erect no Figures to their Honour, and content themselves with offering Sarcifices to them; we find in no writing, what sentiments they have of the power of those *Sitte*, nor for what reason, they make them Offerings. The last sort of those Inferiour Gods, are the *Jubles*, or *Inblaforket*, that are a Vagabond Crowd, whom they believe to wander in the Air, and through Forests and Mountains. But I find also, no where what good or hurt those Spirits, may, in their Opinion procure to Men, only they believe them Inferior to the *Sitte*; however, they pay them also some Worship, behind their Cottage, at a Bow shot distance, which Worship ends in a superstitious Sacrifice. They consecrate to them neither Images nor Statues, no more then to the *Manes*; they have likewise no Image of *Bawe*, or the

the *Sun*, either because he is visible himself, or because the most secret Science of their Mysteries accounts him but one God, with *Tiermes*. There is but *Ayeke* and *Storjunker*, who have Statues erected to their Honour, those of *Aijeke* are of Wood, and those of *Storjunker* of Stone.

Sect. 4. 'Tis upon those Opinions that their Divinations and Witchcraft are grounded, and hereupon I can't but make this observation, that by reading *Scheffer*, and comparing what he says of his own, with what he has collected from other Authors, it may easily be perceived, that the Witchcraft of the Northern Nations extends not so far as is commonly reported. But then we must credit what *Scheffer* assures us from his own experience, in the following words, Chap. 12. *Tho the present Laplanders do not frequently nor publicly exercise Magick, their Ancestors having been more addicted to those superstitions, of which most of the modern Laplanders are free, and tho the Country be purified of that sort of Witchcraft, ever since the King of Sweden has forbidden, under grievous pains, to use Incantments: yet there are still a great number amongst them, who make it their whole study and employment. The cause of it is, that every one of the Laplanders is perswaded, that Magick is indispensably necessary to him, that he may avoid the snares and insults of his Enemies. To this he adds, That they kept Schools, in which Children are taught that Art, and that Parents are often their Tutors in it. That they exercise them in it, required their assistance, and are present at the performance of those detestable practices. But what is yet more strange, is, what this Author farther relates, That the Fathers bequeath, as an Inheritance to their Children, the wicked Spirits that were in their Service, that by their help they may overcome the Demons of other Families, their Enemies.*

Señ. 5. What they pretend to effect, by means of their Gods and Spirits, is to discover some things by Divination, and to operate some others by Witchcraft; for Divination, they make use of a *Kamus*, which is like a *Drum*, and must be made of a particular Wood, and rather of Birch-tree than any other. There is a *Skin*, or *Membrane*, extended upon the Body of that *Drum*, wherein the Laplanders draw several Figures with a red colour made of the Bark of Alder-tree, bruised and boyl'd; they beat it with an Instrument like a Hammer, 6 Inches long but not bigger then the little Finger, not so much to make a noise, as to cause a bundel of Brass Rings, that lies upon it, to move, when that bundle begins to leap up they observe the parts and Figures towards which it moves, and Divine by the Scituation, Motion, and rest of the bundle, on the place which signifies the design they have form'd. The manner of this enquiry is not always the same, for they make use of several, different from one another, by those means they discover, what passes in Foreign Countreyes, how distant soever they may be; they know the good or bad success of the Affairs they have undertaken, they cure Diseases, they find out what Sacrifices and Victims are most pleasant to the Gods of the Land. These that desire to know the State of their Friends or Enemies, living a Thousand Miles from that place, have but to go to a Laplander, who discovers it this way. He casts himself upon the Ground, and becomes like a Dead Man, and his Face altogether livid. He remains in that state an hour or two, according as the Country, whence he will get News, is more or less distant, and when he awakes, he tells whatever passes in that Country, especially as to what is enquired after. There are yet some other particulars, as to that way of Divining, gather'd from several Authors, but it would be too long, and even unserviceable, to relate them:

SECT. 6. They have yet other sorts of Witchcraft. The First is, a Twisted Cord with several knots, which they use to raise Winds on the Sea, so they do, as it were, sell the Winds, and profer them to Merchants, that are detain'd on their Coasts, by Tempests and contrary Winds, having agreed upon the price, and receiv'd it, they give him a string with three Magical Knots, on which lies this Condition, that as soon as they have untied the First, there rises a fresh and pleasant Gale; when they have loosed the Second, the Wind grows stronger, but when they have untied the Third, there arises such a Tempestuous Storm, that they are no longer able to govern their Ship. This sort of Trade is used, especially in Finmarke, amongst the Danish Laplanders, because the Neighborhood of the Sea afford them more occasions of it, then any where else, But the account that Scheffer gives of their other sorts of Witchcraft, shows that he himself gives little credit to it, They have little Magical Darts made of Lead, very short, being no longer than ones Finger, they dart them to the remotest place against their Enemies, of whom they desire to avenge themselves; and by that Witchcraft, they send upon them such dangerous Diseases, with such sharp pains, that for the violence of them, they often Die within three Days. They have also a kind of Flyes call'd Gans, which they let out of their Ganeske, that is a Leaden Purse: And Daily send some of them to annoy and vex their Enemies. But we have not a perfect knowledge of whatever they practise on these occasions. There are also some Laplanders, who for this purpose, make use of a Tyre, which is a round Ball, as big as a Walnut; it has a particular shape, as is described in Scheffer's relation, and it has also some motion. They sell this Tyre, and the buyer may send it upon whomsoever he pleases, he shall be most cruelly tormented with it.

Sect. 7. But enough of the *Lapländers*, let's now speak of other Nations. *Lirgau* says, that the *Wild-Irish* adore the Moon, as well for their own preservation, as for that of their Flocks, and that they direct to her this Prayer amongst others, *Leave us as Healthfull, as thou finds us.* Whence infer, that they hold something of the Ancient Paganism, that ascribes a Divine Virtue to the Influence of the Stars, tho' it seems by this form of Prayer, that they attribute not to them, a full and Sovereign power, in the Administration of the World.

Sect. 8. As for the remains of Paganism amongst the *Samagites*, a People situated betwixt *Lithuania* and *Livonia*, we are taught, that they much Worship the Sun and Moon, the Fire, the Thunder, the Groves, and Trees exceedingly high; which shows that they go farther than the wild Irish, and believe that there are Demons in the Air, and upon Earth, that reside in all those objects. But it may be seen in *Olaus Magnus*, what account they themselves make of the Gods of Thunder, and of the Spirits in the Air. For says he, they not only pretend to give succors to their Gods in their quarrels - they have with their Enemies, endeavouring to imitate the Thunder with the beating of Hammers, but are not afraid even of Fighting against them with Arrows and other Arms, they shoot in the Air. There are also places in *Lithuania*, where the Inhabitants adore a Domestick God, called *Dinstipan*, that is, *The Director of the smoke or Chimneys.*

Sect. 2. The *Tartars Keremisses*, a People of Eastern *Moscow*, believe according to *Olearius*, that there are malicious Spirits, who may at pleasure, cause several disturbances and vexations to Men in this Life; for as to the future, they have no notion of it. To prevent those pains, or turn off those Spirits, they offer Sacrifices to them, near *Rivers*,
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they likewise adore the Sun and Moon, because they perceive much good is done to the Earth, by their Operations. But we find nothing considerable left in writing, as to their way of exercising Magick.

Señ. 10. The *Islanders* have more relation to the *Laplanders* and *Fuilianders*, the greatest knowledge we have of them, comes to us from the writings of *Blefkenius*, they also believe Domestick Spirits, who wake them in the Night, to go a Fishing, being persuaded, that if one should go thither without the Advertisement of these Spirits, he could not make a happy Fishing. The same *Ditmarus Blefkenius*, sailing from that Countrey to *Portugal* in 1633, received from one *Jonas* a Handkerchief, with three Knots, to be loosed at Sea, in case he wanted Wind. They use to make these Knots, softly muttering some words, Besides that they boast, that from the place where they stand upon the ground, they may cause Vessels at Sea, to stop or to Sail on. But I shall yet keep by me for some time *that Handkerchief* and it's Knots, to try hereafter, how they may be unr'y'd ; I shall also leave those Vessels at Sea, untill I examine what may stop or promote their Voyage. So that having nothing more to do with *Europe*, we shall go over to *Asia*.

C H A P. VII.

That the same Sentiments are to be found amongst most of the Nations of Asia.

Se^{ct}. 1. **T**HE Inhabitants of *Asia*, as far as that Continent is known to us, are not so dull as the Northern *Europeans*. The *Chinese*, *Japanders*, *Sianese*, *Peguans*, those *Indians* that are known from ancient times, and those from the West of *Bengala*, surpass all the rest in civility and ingenuity; but the *Chinese* carry it before all other Nations. Let us allow them to explain their own Sentiments, and give us an account of their practices. We shall hear them unanimously grant, that to speak properly, there is but one *Divine Being*, whose virtue extends every where. However, when they came to consider the various objects of the Divine Administration, and his different effects, they divided the Government of the World, betwixt two Principal, and many Inferior Gods, as the Ancient Heathens, of whom we have spoken.

Se^{ct}. 2. Thus the *Japanders* have intrusted *Chaca* and *Amida* with the supream administration of all things, and *Tanconida*, *Benjamonda*, *Homocanda*, *Zoiola*, *Pipi* and *Fisus*, with the particular directions of the Heavens, whither the last leads the Souls of the deceased. The principle Se^{ct} amongst the *Chinese*, is that which follows the Sentiments of *Confucius*, who is esteemed a great Saint amongst them. That Se^{ct}, says *Carobius*, in the words of *Trigaltius*, acknowledges and adores one only God, believing that he governs and keeps all things here below, They

also venerate the Spirits, but much less than that Deity; neither do they ascribe to them so great a Power. All these People imagine a graduation from the Great Gods to the Inferior Gods, and from them to the Spirits; for these pretend that the Sovereign God, has set over the Heavens *Laocon*, that is, *the Minister of the Great God*, and upon the Inferior World *Cansai*, who has under him three Spirits, *Tanduum*, *Teiquam*, and *Tsuiquam*: the first of whom has the direction of the Air; the second of the Earth, and the third of the Sea. Amongst the inferior Gods, who are very numerous, they reckon the Inventors of Arts, especially *Sicbia*, *Quanina*, and *Neoma*, a God and two Goddesses. Amongst the Tartars, those of *Sarmacande*, who border on the Empire of the Great Mogul, are *Mahometans*. But amongst the others, particularly those of *Niuche*, on whom the Empire of *China* is now depending. The Deity is likewise divided into two; the one is the God of Heaven, and the other of the Earth; but they make the condition of the first, so high and sublime, that it may be easily perceived, they acknowledge but one God indeed.

SECT. 3. The Peguans believe a Supream Deity, called *Duma*, who is Good, but admit also of a 2d, who is Bad, and for that reason is accounted to be the Devil by the Christians. They esteem besides, that there are a great number of Gods, each of whom has his particular Office; the Chief are *Carco vitas*, the most ancient of all, on whom the other depend, *Oisima*, the mover of all things, *Apalita*, the Leader of the Pilgrims, *Fotoco* their Intercessor by *Duma*, who especially prays for the Souls of the deceased, that are condemn'd to the darkness of the Gulf, in the House of Smoak. The Siamois acknowledge one God, who inhabits the Heavens, with
many

many other Gods inferior to him, amongst whom they place the deceased, who have been their Law-givers.

Señ. 4. Amongst the Inhabitants of *Java*, in which Island is situated the City of *Batavia*, belonging to the *Dutch East-India Company*; some believe the Transmigration of Souls. The *Cingalois* in the Isle of *Ceylon* worship four Gods, betwixt whom they believe the Government of the World to be divided; and withal, venerate the Souls of the deceased, whose Lives have been virtuous; so that both the one and the other, believe the existence of Demons. But those of the *Javanois* may be good or bad, whereas those of the *Cingalois* can be but good.

Señ. 5. Those that inhabit the North of the Cape *Comorin*, and reach to the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*, tho' they be much divided in their Sentiments; yet agree in this point, that there is a Supreme Deity, called either *Vistenau* or *Esuara*, who, however Governs the world only by the Ministry of inferior Gods, of whom *Brama*, who is the Creator and Director of all things, is the Chief. Some say, that all these three depend upon *Tsechri*, as upon the only Sovereign God. But after all, the difference is not so much in the thing as in the name. They all believe that *Brama* gives to *Indre* or *Destendre* a Supreme Authority, over 8 principal Directors of the Superior World, who they place higher than the Earth, and nevertheless under *Bramalocon*, which is the abode of *Brama*. Of these eight, seven receive the Souls of the dying, who have led a good Life, and the eighth receives that of the Damned. They likewise believe that those Gods have been begotten and married after the manner of Men; that they have sometimes appeared upon Earth, in a bodily shape, and that *Vistenau*

himself has been seen under more than ten Forms as *Rogerus* relates to have learned it from the mouth of a *Bramine*.

Sect. 6. Going farther Northward into the Kingdoms of *Gusuratte* or *Cambaie*, *Decan* and *Bengale*, subject to the Great Mogul, you will find above fourscore Sects, amongst which there are four Principal, whereof one called *Chevravac*, hardly believes the existence of one God: However taken together, they all confess that there is one, who presides over all the rest, and on whom they all depend. Even that Sect, that will scarce believe the Existence of Gods worship. *Tiel Tenquer*, who is esteemed a general Saint, shewing thereby that it is easier to forsake God with the Mouth, than with the Heart. The Sect named *Samaraet* constituted, under *Permiseer* their Sovereign; God, three other Gods, each of whom has a share in the Government of the World. They say that *Brama* has power over all the Souls, and distributes them to Men and Beasts, as he pleases; that *Bassuna* teaches Men the Commandments of *Permiseer*, and provides with all things in this life, those that are obedient to him; and that *Mais* calls to Judgment before *Permiseer*, the Souls separated from the Bodies, who sends them according to their deserts, into the Bodies of Men or Beasts, to be afterwards with them purified of their Fits in a certain purging Fire. The *Gentives* in the Kingdom of *Goleonda*, believe also one only God, who has been from all Eternity; but in process of time, has associated himself to some inferior Gods, chosen from amongst Men; which notion is agreeable with the *Semidii Indigetes*, or *Heros* of the Ancient Romans.

Sect. 7. Those Ancient *Persians* who have remained in their Religion, since *Mahometism* has settled in their Country, deserve to be taken notice of.

Some

Some remained in Persia, and live for the most part at Ispubum, the Capital of that Empire. Others have retired into the Indies, , especially into the Kingdom of Gusuratte, where they are in great numbers. Here you have the belief of the people in the very words of Carolinus, extracted from de Laet, Varenius, and Tuiſt, They believe that there is one God present every where, who Governs all things at pleasure, without needing the assistance of any one; tho' in the mean time he has seven Ministers by him, almost of the same Dignity with himself, who have each their particular Office, of which they are accountable to him. The 1st. is Hamalda, the Governour of Men. The 2d. is Baman, who has inspection over the Beasts, and the Creatures of the Sea. The 3d. is Ardi Best, who preserves Fire, and hinders it from going out. The 4th. is Sariuard, on whom Metals and Minerals depend. The 5th, is Espendaar, who takes care lest the Earth should be fill'd with filthiness, and grow wild; The 6th. is Arøndaar, who has the direction of the Waters, and who takes care that they be not soiled with nastiness: The last is Amadaat, who has the inspection of the Trees and Fruits of the Earth, and of Herbs. All these Gods are only Inspectors and Directors; it being not in their power to inflict death upon any things, or to give it a new Life, for they are solely established to give an account to the Sovereign God, and to inform against those that have ill used, corrupted, or violated the things, that are under their keeping:

SECT. 8. Besides those 7 Ministers, there are yet 26, of an inferior Order, each of which has his particular district. Sorach is the first, whose Office is quickly to bring the Souls separated from the Bodies before their Judges, viz. Mees, Resna and Saros. The 4th. is Beram Carrasedaats, who directs War at his pleasure. The 5th is the Sun. The 6th, is Anoa, who has dominion over the Waters. The 7th. is Ader, who is established

over Fire. The 8th is Maho, who governs the Moon. The 9th. is Tiera, that is the Rains, 10th. Gos governs and preserves Cattle. 11. Tavardi takes care of the Souls who are in Heaven. 12th. Aram brings Joy to the World, and banishes Pains and Sorrows from thence. 13th. Goada rules the Winds, tho' he be not the Wind himself. 14th. Dien gives to Nations information and understanding of the Laws, and inclination to keep them. 15. Appersone affords Riches. 16th. Astaat gives Understanding and Memory. 17th. Affamaan has the inspection of Wares. 18. Gimminaat, has the conduct of the Earth. 19. Marisipant is the God of Goodness, which he communicates to those that have recourse to him. 20. Armira is the director of Money. 21. Hoem is the Author of the conception of Women, and gives life to their Fruit. 22, 23. Dimnia and Bale are established to succor those that stand in need of them. The three last, Befadeer, Defemeer and Desyn, stand by God to serve him, and are always ready to perform his Orders. These are the Names of those 26 Ministers, whom the Country men of Persia honour with the Title of Gestio, or Saint, and whom they believe to have Authority and Power all the things that are under their direction: For which reason they also adore them, trusting that they will be their Intercessors to God, and obtain from him whatever shall be necessary for their good.

SECT. 9. Having thus sufficiently spoken, as to the Gods, we'll now treat of the Spirits, tho' we find but little information upon this point in Authors, saving in what concerns China, and the East-Indies, on this side the River Ganges. I only find mention made, that the Japanders, in a place not farr from Osacca, venerate a God or Spirit, named Tiedebaie, lest he should hurt them, and that another God called Goguis, frequently appears to them in a humane Shape. In the Town of Micaa. They
worship

worship in a Statue of a frightful Figure, another Spirit, to whom the *Christians* give the name of *King of the Devils*. There is no Pagod in all Japan, saith *Carolinus*, which is so frequented, nor enriched with so great Presence, because thereby they think to redeem their sins.

SECT. 10. *Martinius*, *Kircher*, and *Trigaltius*, three Jesuits, have written large Histories of *China*, but very little insisted upon this matter: However, considering what they observe of the Worship of that People, it may be concluded that they believe the existence of Spirits, as we shall show hereafter. The *Siamese* likewise venerate some wicked Gods; though against the sentiment of many of their Doctors, under pretence of charging those bad Spirits of such evils, of which they will not make God the Author. It is said of the same Nation, that they give two Spirits to every Man, one of which makes them to be good, and the other evil.

SECT. 11. But the greatest knowledge we have of the Opinions of those Countries comes from the Coast of *Choromandel*. *Carolinus*, who has gatherd what *Rogerus* says of it in many places, says, That they believe good and bad Spirits, that is, Angels and Devils; They name the Angels *Deuetas*, and the Devils *Ratiasias*: They hold that both were begotten by Men; and that their common Father was *Cassiope*, the first *Bramaine*, or Priest and Legislator; The Mother of the *Deuetas* was *Diti*, and that of the *Ratiasias* was *Aditi*; both Wives of *Cassiope*.

SECT. 12. There are two sorts of *Deuetas*; For such Men as go after their Decease into the Happiness of the Worlds under the Sun, and above the Earth, are also called *Deuetas*, but those places are not for them an eternal abode, since after the succession of some Ages, they must come back into the World, and be Born again. As to the other *Deuetas*, who are in great numbers,

they never depart from their Abode. The Sun, Moon and Stars are in that number, they ascribe unto them both Soul and Life.

Sect. 13. The *Ratnasias* are also of two sorts, some of them are *Wicked Men*, who are condemn'd for their Sins to wander in the *World*, and to suffer Hunger and Thirst, which they cannot satisfy but by the Alms that Men hand them: Wherefore they often appear in a human shape, to beg something from them, but they have no power to hurt them. Besides these, there is another sort of Devils, or *Ratnasias*, properly so called, because they are the Children of *Aditi*, and are very Malitious. They have power to molest Men, and even to cause much trouble and vexation to the Angels, or *Deuetas*. They may walk every where, except save in the abode of *Brama*, and in the Heavens. They are described with huge, frightful, and stinking Bodies; they are said to be Male and Female, to procreate Children, and to be subject to Death.

Sect. 14. There's enough concerning the *Demons* of the Pagans of *Asia*; but as most of those Nations are *Pythagoreans*, and believe the *Metempsychosis*, they also supply us with Heroes: For, (says *Baldeius*, in his Book of the Idolatry of the East Indies) the Modern Heathens believe that Man is happier in this Life than the Beasts, by reason that he has a Body, by which the Soul may exert her Operation; but they agree not that a Man is more noble than a Beast; nor that he has a Soul more excellent than it has. And when they are ask'd, why Beasts reason not, they answer, because they have not Bodies capable of exerting the qualities of a Soul, as a Dumb Man who wants a proper Organ to utter Words, and may be nevertheless very Wise; or as some People, who have a great deal of Knowledge and Learning, but have no more readiness to express themselves than Children who cannot do it.

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He that shall Read this will be less surpris'd at what follows.

Sect. 15. Nothing certain can be said of the *Japanders*, because the *Jesuits*, who relate their Opinions, agree not together. It appears however, that there are amongst that People three sorts of Opinions concerning human Souls, and their Essence. The first is, That the Soul of Man differs not from that of Beasts. The second, That Men have a Soul of another Nature than that of Beasts, but still Mortal. The third, That the Soul is Immortal. They likewise believe the *Metempsychosis*, and that the Soul going out of the Body is determin'd to enter into another Body, either of Man or Beast, by the conjunction that is then made of the Sun and Moon with other Stars.

Sect. 16. The *Chinese* are likewise *Pythagoreans*, *Martinius* testifies it very plainly, as to one of their Sects, in these Words. *Chiquiao is a Sect, which our People esteem to be the first introduced in China, after the Birth of our Saviour. They believe the exchanges of Souls inwardly and outwardly. They Honour Images, and imagine that the Soul after Death passes in punishment of her Sins from one body into another; for which reason they abstain from what ever has had life.* That Narration is confirm'd by *Trigaltius*, who says, That the Parents are not afraid of killing their Children to be discharg'd of them, when they are incumbred with too many, asserting, that by that means they procure them a better Condition; since instead of Poverty, they afford them by Death the occasion of going into other Bodies, and being Born again in the House of Richer People, where they will live more at ease. The *Peguans* seem to have the same Sentiment by the Relation *Pinto*, when by the Tomb of their *Rolym*, or High-Priest, they let loose a great many Birds and Fishes, which they kept

kept Prisoners, believing them to be as many human Souls, who will keep company to their *Rolym* in his way to the other World.

Besides we read in *Corolinus*, out of *Artus*, in his *Speculum Mundi*, That the Wise Men of China have invented three places for those that depart this Life. *Nachac* is a place of Torment; *Schuum* one of Delights, such as the Paradise of Mahomet; and *Miba*, or *Nibam*, signifies an entire privation of being, or a full Destruction of Body and Soul. All the Souls have their abode in the two first places, or depart from thence, to go to and fro through the World, and often pass from one Body into another by new Birth, until they deserve to enter into the *Nibam*, that is, to be annihilated. *Le Blanc* speaks of it somewhat differently, in a Relation extracted from a Franciscan Monk. He says, That the Chinese believe that Men become Gods at last, after they have passed through the Bodies of several Beasts, Birds, and Fishes; and that they imagine that the Souls, after the course of many Ages, having been well purified in some proper places, and returned several times into new Worlds, are at last introduced into Paradise, cast down to Hell, or reduced to nothing.

SECT. 18. As to the Opinion of the Siamese in this point, we must learn it from the Relation of the Jesuits in their Journey to Siam, in the years 1685. and 1686. because that Book is the newest and much credited. Thus then writes Tachard, p. 297, 298. Edit. Amsteled. Metempsychosis is one of the Fundamental Points of their Religion, so that the Life of Man passes in continual Transmigrations, untill he be sanctified, and deserves to be God. They admit of Spirits, but such as are nothing else than Souls, who always inform some Bodies, until they have attained to Holiness or Deity: Angels are Corporeal, and of different Sexes, and consequently may beget Sons and Daughters. Those Angels are never Sanctified nor Deified:
but

but to them, only belongs to watch over the Government of the World, and the preservation of Men. They distribute them into seven Orders, or Hierarchies; some of which are more perfect and noble than the others; all which they place in as many different Heavens. Each part of the World has one of those Intelligences to preside over what is done there. They likewise impart them to Stars, to the Earth, to Cities, Mountains and Forests, and even to the Winds and Rain. And because they are perswaded, that those Angels examine the conduct of Men, and are witnesses of all their actions, to reward those that are commendable, by vertue of the merits of their God; It is therefore to those Intelligences and not to their God, that they use to apply themselves in their necessities and miseries, and to thank them for the favours they suppose to have received from them.

Se^{ct}. 19. They acknowledge no other Demons but the Souls of the wicked, who making their escape out of the Hell, in which they were detained; wander through the World a certain time, and do as much hurt to Men as they can. Amongst those unhappy Spirits, they rank untimely Births, Women dying in Childbed, those that are killed in a Duel, or guilty of some crime of that nature.

Se^{ct}. 20. The Heathens of Java believe likewise Metempsychosis, as well as those of Sumatra, the Malabars, and the Inhabitants of the Coast of Corman-del. All the Benjanes in the hither East-Indies, agree upon no Article of Religion, better than upon this. Most of the Bramines, that are not engaged in any of these two Sects Schaaruakka and Pasenda, admit the immortality of human Souls, and say that there are some, who being separated from the Bodies become Devils, because of their sins; and that the time of their first punishment being finished, they must wander in the Air, and there induce an intolerable Hunger, it being impossible
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for them to draw so much as *the Leaf* of an Herb; or to supply their wants with any other thing, besides what Men bestow upon them in Charity. I had mention'd that Opinion, speaking of the *Ratsiasias*.

Sect. 21. In a word, when we gather all the Observations made in this Chapter, and before it, to discover the Opinions of the Heathens; we find that, tho' all their Superstitions be grounded upon very different Causes; yet they all tend in the main to the same scope, that is, to worship one sole Object, as the Supreme Deity, and yet to associate Spirits to him. I cannot better express that Thought, than by the very words of *Carolinus*, which, are as a re-capitulation of what has hitherto been said. *Some esteem, says he, that the Souls are mortal, others esteem them immortal; some establish the transmigration of Souls, others are not of that Opinion: and how much differ those that assert the Metempsychosis between themselves; some, as those of Java believe, that the Soul goes into the first Body she meets with; others believe that she is sent into such or such Body, according as she has merited by the good or evil she has done, which is the Opinion of the Banjanas. Some affirm, that the Souls change their abode but once, others three times, and others teach a vast number of Transmigrations; others make them pass only into Men, who must also be strangers; others again send them into Man and Beasts; but others at last make them pass only in the Females of Men and Beasts; which is the imagination of the Thearauachs; others have yet quite different Opinions. In a word, it may be rightly said upon this subject, Many Men many Minds; for there are almost as many Opinions as Persons.*

C H A P. VIII.

That the Witchcraft practised amongst the People, proceeds from the same source.

Sect. 8. **A**S the name of Withcraft is given to whatever is supposed to be done by the help of the Devil; I cannot but judge that many persons are called *Sorcerers* and *Witches*, who perhaps are not so, and that this must be ascribed to the same prejudice, which I have mentioned before, speaking of the worship of Demons. And therefore I intend to examine hereafter, what these People really are. It is sufficient to advertise here before-hand, that all the Heathens must not be taken for Magicians, Sorcerers, and Inchanters; because many Writers have called them by such names, giving them indifferently in their Writings to all the He and She Priests, and to all those who discharge any Office, Ministry, or employment in their Religious Worship, and in their Sacrifices. But I design to insert in this present Chapter, whatever is known to us of their practices, or of their communications with any of the inferior Gods or Spirits, good or bad.

Sect. 2. The veneration which that People have for the Sun, Moon and Stars, is sufficient to establish the choice of Days amongst them: whence proceeds what *Peter Vaudenbrook* has observed, speaking of the *Benjanes* of *Narsinga*. *That as to happy and unhappy hours they judge of them by the course of the Stars, which they observe with great nicety. Trigaltius in his First Book, Chap. 59. says, that there is no Superstition so common in China, as that of observing*

the Feast and Working days, and that they rule the whole conduct of their Lives, upon the disposition of Time. To that end there are Printed every year two sorts of Almanacks made in the Emperor's name by his own Astrologers, which contributes to set off this delusion for a Truth: there is marked every day what is good to be done, or not to be done, and to what hour must be deferr'd, what offers it self in the intervals of the fortunate, or unlucky moments.

SECT. 2. Carolinus has, methinks, made a good Abridgment of what follows in Trigaltius, which therefore I intend to make use of. There are other Books, says he, besides those that more particularly treat of this matter, and even, there's a sort of Teachers, which only subsist from what they get in prescribing happy Days and Hours to the Querists, tho' they have but a small reward for it. They are so much bewitcht with those predictions, that they often deferr an importunate Affair, or a long and dangerous Journey, till they have found out a Day or Hour of good Omen. And tho' it sometimes happens, that at that Day or Hour, there falls a great Rain, or a contrary Wind blows, yet for all that, they begin the undertaking or journey in their perfix'd time, should they only proceed 4 steps, or dig out but a Basket full of Earth from the place where they intend to lay the Foundation of a House. That was also the employment of those that were Anciently called Astrologers and Mathematicians, of whom we have spoken before.

SECT. 4. They are no less superstitiously curious, in observing the time of the Birth, to foretel the condition of the whole course of ones Life. Those calculators of ones Nativity, are the same with the Ancient Genethliaci before mentioned, Chap. 3. SECT. 4. There are many other Diviners, who boast of foreteling future things by the Observation of the Stars, by the inspection of the Face, by the Dreams, by the posture of the enquirer, by
his

his manner of sitting or standing, and this sort of Men are in great esteem amongst the vulgar.

Señt 5. Rogerius gives a larger account of what has been said, concerning the choice of Days, amongst the Chinese, which is likewise practised amongst other Nations, as especially the Inhabitants of the Coast of Coromandel, where they use Almanacks, like those of China; and call them Paniangam. That Author says, That they are two sorts; one, that shows what must be done, and the other, what must be laid aside at every Hour of the Day of the Week, and what shall succeed or not. For a Specimen of it, he relates the predictions of Sunday, from Hour to Hour. They reckon in that Country 30 Hours, betwixt the Rising and Setting of the Sun.

1. Good for all Affairs of Council and Reasoning.
2. Undertaking shall prosper.
3. Shall not succeed.
4. Who means to get an Advantage, shall not get it, but his Enemy.
5. Good for Trading Profitably.
6. Good for Rejoycing and Undertaking whatever concern Merriment and Science.
7. The Courting of Women, shall succeed at a pleasure.
8. Trade without gain.
9. As the 6th Hour.
10. No Project happy.
11. Physicks and things taken for Pleasure, will not prosper.
12. Who aspires after Victory shall obtain it.
13. Good for buying Cows and other Beasts.
14. Good to take a Servant.
15. Bad to enter into a New house, or to go a visiting.
16. Good to lay the Foundation of Houses, Villages or Towns.

17. Unhappy Journeys.
18. Good to pay Visits to the Great.
19. Good for Erecting Statues in the *Pagodes*, to the Honour of the Gods.
20. Unhappy for all sorts of Undertaking.
21. Nothing to be gotten.
22. Who gives Battle, shall loose the Day.
23. Good to make Friends.
24. Good for Fighting.
25. Good for keeping Council.
26. Unprofitable Trade.
27. Who lies with a Woman shall get her with Child.
28. Every Undertaking shall succeed.
29. Shall not succeed.
30. Good for Planting.

The Night is likewise distributed into several Hours, as also the other Days and Nights of the Week.

Señt. 6. That Superstition has proceeded so far as to have stained an Art very commendable in it self, and one of the liberal Arts. For, according to the Relation of *Daviti*, extracted from *Oforius*, the *Malabars*, who use to begin their Year with the Month of *September*, have recourse to Superstitious Observations, in Order to mark the First Day and Hour of it. That Day all those that are above the Age of 15, cover their Eyes and Face, that they may see nothing, and cause themselves to be brought into the *Pagodes* of their Idols, where they presently uncover their Faces, and quickly cast their Eyes upon the First Object before them. If it happens to be the Statute of some Idol, for which they have a particular Veneration, they fancy they shall pass the Year most happily.

Señt. 7. Those that observe the cry of Birds, have a very great relation with the *Malabars*, and agree

agree with them almost in the same things; for *Carolinus* says after *Rogerus*, that they observe what sort of Birds flie near them, and to what part, whence they draw a favourable or sinister Augury. They say that when a Ash-coloured Crow, whereof there are great numbers upon the Coast, comes to touch some body in flying, it forebodes very ill. viz. that he that has been touched or some of his Friends, shall Die within 6 Weeks. *Linschoten* gives very near the same account of the *Decanins*, and the Inhabitants of *Gurnsatte*, saying, that if the First Object they see in the Morning is an Ash-coloured Crow, they will not go out of their House for any thing.

Sect. 8. *Daviti* says after *Mendoze*, that the Heathens of the Islands, called by the Spaniards *Philippines*, have some the Diviners named *Holaoi*, whom they honour as Priests, *Who converse daily with the Demons, (at least in his Opinion,) and that they publickly before all the People, make strange postures, and a horrid noise, during which, the Spirit of Divination seizes upon them, and gives by them answer to whatever is asked.* The same Author adds, that they have a particular sort of Divination, in which if they meet a *Cayman* in their way, they return home. Whence appears, that they esteem that meeting unfortunate.

Sect. 9. Besides that, all sorts of presages are in credit amongst those Nations, who draw them from whatever offers it self to them. If any body sneezes before them when they go out, of their House, they presently step in again, for they esteem it a very bad Omen. *Peter Vandenbroeck* affirms the same of the Inhabitants of *Narsinga*, and adds, that when they go out in the Morning, if they meet with some bad Augury, they return back, or stay till a more favourable offers it self. We read in *Carolinus*, which are according to them, good or bad Signs, which he has transcribed out of *Tuisk*, and

Vandenbroeck.

Vandenbroeck. Here they are. Besides sneezing and flight of Birds, there are several others ill pregages; as an empty Cart, a Dog who has nothing to Eat, a Buffle, an Ass, a Guilded-be-Goat, an Ape, a loosen'd Hart, a Goldsmith, a Carpenter, a Barber, a Taylor, a Cotton-Merchant, a Farrier, a Weaver, a She-Widow, a Dead body, all People coming from a Burying, before they be washed, and having changed their Dress. 'Tis also an ill Augury to meet with one that carries Butter, Milk, or brown Sugar, or four things, as Apples and Lemmons, or one that carries Fire, and any thing used in War. But 'tis a good Omen to meet with an Elephant a Cammel either Loaden or Unloaden, a Horse better Unloaden than Loaden, a Cow, an Ox, a Buff Loaden with Water, for Unloaden it forebodes nothing but Ill; a He-goat, a Dog Eating, a Cat on the Right Hand; likewise to meet one carrying Meat, Curds or white-Sugar, a Cock, an Unicorn running strait out in the way, and a Hundred things of that Nature are esteemed so fortunate by them, that they boldly pursue their way with hopes of a good Fortune. *Tereira* adds, that they believe it a very ill thing, and even a Sin to Eat before Sun-set:

Sett 10. This is what I intended to relate as to Divination, upon which point, and especially upon Witchcraft: I am surprized to find so little in the writings of so many Authors, whom I have consulted with great exactness; neither do I remember to have learned any thing more particular in the Conversations I have had with Gentlemen that have made long Journeys into the Eastern Countreys; but I wonder most of all, that *Baldaus*, whose chief scope in his writings, is to treat of the Idolatry of the Eastern Countreys, makes almost no mention of it. The only thing I find in him, concerns the Conjuratation of Serpents. *The Inhabitants*, says he, of the Coast of Coromandel, and some of the Cingalese and Malabars,

Malabars, know how to Enchant Serpents ; so that by their Songs, they make them Dance, which is strange and wonderful. When they require the Oath of any Person, they put his Hand in a Pot, where there is a Serpent ; if he be not wounded, they hold his Oath to be true, but if he be bitten, they believe him Perjur'd. Peirard adds to this, that they Conjure the greatest and most subtle Snakes not to be hurt by them, and Baldeus reports the same.

CHAP. IX.

That the Opinions and Practices of the African Heathens, agree at bottom with the Sentiments and Customs of the other Pagans.

SECT. 1. **T**HE Heathens of *Africa* being duller than the others, because the Men of Letters, are most or all *Mahometans*, we can have little knowledge of their Opinions, unless it be by their practices. From them only, we may infer their belief, as to the matter in hand: and tho' Travellers have left us but few Observations, I shall nevertheless examine them two ways, to know what sort of Creatures are esteem'd and worshiped as Divine, by those Nations, and afterwards what sorts of Divination and Witchcraft are in use amongst them. Amongst the best writers, none have given more Information than *Carolinus*, whom therefore I shall take for my leader ; but add to his Narration, what I shall think convenient out of other Authors in proper places.

SECT. 2. Those *Africans*, that without living under the Law of Christ, or that of *Mahomet*, having nevertheless some knowledge of God distribute the

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Deity amongst several Creatures, as do all other Heathens. They give the first share to the most visible and shining, as the *Celestial Lamps*, which they look upon as *Lights* placed in *Heaven*, by the Sovereign Creator, for a proof of his *Eternal Power* and *Deity*. The *Inhabitants* of *Damute*, a Country lying very near the *Equinoctial Line*, those that live under the *Dominion* of the *Great Negus*, and those of *Ballagata* in the Kingdom of *Monopotapa*, have time out of mind adored the *Rising Sun*. Those of the Kingdom of *Mangibur*, Subjects to the *Great Negus*, render him the same worship, and hold him for the *Creator* himself. Those of *Suarim*, capital of the Kingdom of *Morat* under the same *Empire*, have the same Faith. But they say, according to the relation of *le Blanc*, that *Heaven* is only for the *Gods*, by which they show, that they acknowledge other *Gods*, who are doubtless inferior to, and in less credit than the *Sun*. Those of *Songo*, in the Kingdom of *Congo*, look on the *Sun* and *Moon* as *Husband* and *Wife*; and as the *First* and *Second God*. They adore the *Earth*, as the *Mother* of all things. They worship likewise some *Birds*, particular to their Country, and as it seems what ever comes into their fancy.

Sect. 3. When those of *Faloffe* in *Guinea* discover the *Moon*, they adore her with great *Cries*. They have the same Custom at *Mandimanca* in the same Country, where the *Moon* is named *Bariomari*, or the *Goddess of the Night*. *Daviti* says, that the *Berbesins*, in the Kingdoms of *Ale* and *Brocale*, worship her at the foot of certain *Trees*. But other People of *Guinea*, make even of certain *Trees* and *Herbs*, their *Fetissos* or *Gods*. They worship the speckled *Starry-Hern*, as a *Divine Bird*. Amongst the *Fishes* they venerate the *Tunny* as *Fetissos*, and put them
before

before the *Emperadors* or *Emperor's* Fishes, which they venture to Fish, but not to Eat, until they have cut off their Sword, which being dry, becomes then a *Fetisso* too. When it Lightens or Thunders upon very high Mountains, fear makes them believe, that those Mountains are likewise *Fetissos*. The *Lybi-ans*, divided into 4 Nations, do all agree, that there is a particular virtue and even Deity in Garlick. Some Inhabitants of *Capo Verde* worship the Moon, and others the God *Conculi*, because of his Malice.

Sect. 4. Few among them believe the Mortality of the Soul, or if they do, their Faith is attended with many doubts, and mix'd with the Opinion of the *Metempsychosis*; so far the Sect of *Pythagoras* reaches. The Inhabitants of *Mongibur* in *Ethiopia*, make a favourable reception to strangers, provided they be no *Christians*, who they esteem less than others. The cause of that kind reception is, that they imagine the Souls of their Relations or Friends may be passed into those Persons. They admit pains and punishment during this Life, but without any larger explication of it. In *Guinea*, the *Hollanders* were told in 1600, that the belief of the Country was, that the Souls of the Deceased came again upon Earth, and that they took from Houses, what they stood in need of; so that when they have sustained some loss, they easily suspect, that those Spirits have taken it away. The Inhabitants of *Capo Verde* imagine, that after their Death, they are transform'd into white Men, and in that State come to dwell upon Earth.

Sect. 5. I find no other particular Observation on the sentiments of those Nations, and much less upon their practices. In the mean while, what may be learned of it, sufficiently shows, that they proceed from the same Original with the others; they have very near the same Gods and the same Oracles,
which

which they get from their Gods by the same means, viz. Divination and Witchcraft. In *The new History of the Abyssines*, by Ludolf, may be seen, how the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Zendero, have themselves in the Election of a King. He is chosen from the greatest Men of the Kingdom, who go together in a Wood, whither they expect the flight of a certain Bird, that nearks by his Cry, who is to be their new Prince; As they have a great Inclination to Witchcraft, the new Prince gives immediatly a proof of his Proficiency in that Art; for as soon as by his Conjurations, he has Notice of his choice, he draws by the same virtue, Lyons, Tygers, Vipers, and Dragons about him, and in the middle of that stately Pomp, he is received by all the great ones of his Kingdom, who go to meet him. This is what that Author relates, and the pure Truth in his Judgment; but we shall examine hereafter, what virtue such a Witchcraft may have.

Sect. 6. The Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Baiafar, on the East of that Benin, are accused to be the greatest Magicians in the World, because they boast of obtaining Rain, and causing Thunder and Lighting, whenever they please, and even of effecting all they desire. The Brames in the Kingdom of Loango know how to hinder, by their Inchantments, the Fruits of the Earth from being taken away by Thieves, who are in great numbers amongst them, and yet not so bold, as to touch any thing; where there is a Basket with a pair of Goats Horns, Parrots Feathers, and other trifles of Nature, because they are consecrated to their God *Maguschi*, otherwise *Moquische*, or *Mohilo*, of whom however *Daviti* has no reason to believe, that he is the Devil.

Sect. 7. When those of Guinea, meet not with a happy Fishing, they compel their Gods with their Conjurations, to drive Fish into their Nets, which is done by the frightful noise of the *Fetisseres*, who
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are their Priests Wives, or by branches of Trees hanging about their Neck, supposing those Trees to have a Divine virtue, as has been observed; or by the beating of Drums, or by some words that the *Fetissero*, or Priest mutters, as grumbling against his Wife, or by some Corn, or other matters, variously Painted, and thrown into the Sea. If the King happen to have occasion for Money, and impatiently desires to know, whether there are Merchants in the way from whom he may hope to get an Advantage, the *Fetissero* goes with his Wives to interrogate a Tree thereupon, at first he makes a great many postures, then offers Sacrifices, uses Ashes, the branch of a Tree cut on purpose, Water drawn sucking from a Beason into his Mouth, wherewith he besprinkles the said branch, then he says some words to his Wives, upon whom he likewise makes asperision; afterwards he pronounces the questions aloud; then there is heard, without seeing any thing, a Voice answering, which sometimes manifests it self under the shape of a Dog, but that's only practised for things that concern this Life, especially for the Kings prosperity.

Sect. 8. But they use another sort of Witchcraft either for the King or the Subjects, to obtain a good condition in the future Life. *When any body comes to Die, they chuse a new Fetisso for that time, whom they intreat to conduct the Soul of the Deceased into the other World. The nearest Relations come together, kill a Hen, and dress her, then they dispose all the Fetissos or Idols of the Deceased upon a Line, hang about them several collars of Peas and Beans, adorn them with many Garlands of green Herbs, and besprinkle them with the blood of the Hen. That's the Duty of the Men. That of the Women, consists in bringing the dress'd Hen in a Dish, and placing her in the middle of the Fetissos, then one of the Men begins his Conjurations, by drinking*
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and throwing a mouthful of *Water*, or palm *Wine* upon the Fetissos. He takes 2 or 3 leaves of those Garlands, which he rakes up, and makes a little round Ball of it, he puts it between his 2 Fingers, and many times betwixt his Feet or Toes, whence he draws it out, greeting the Fetissos as many times; when he has squeezed all the moisture out of that green Ball upon his Gods, he makes another, and then another, till all the Garlands be spent, then out of all these little Balls, he makes one, with which he rubs his Face, which raises it to the dignity of a Fetisso, and causes it to be kept as an excellent preservative against all sorts of Evils, and a certain succour in the War. Thus they pretend to bring the Dead to a quiet State.

Sect. 9. They also use Birds in their Divinations, viz. The speckled *Herr*, because (says *Carolinus*, who has supplied us with the former Narration,) it lows as much as an Ox, when it sticks its bill into the ground. When they undertake to Travel, and hear it crying, they extremely rejoice, saying that the Fetisso comes to promise them a happy journey. They put Corn and a Vessel full of *Water*, near the place where they have heard the cry, that the Fetisso may find Meat and Drink, thence proceed that many of those Vessels with Mays, Rice, and other grains, are to be found every where in the Woods and Fields. But enough of the Pagans of *Africa*, let us go over to those of *America*.

C H A P. X.

That very near the same Opinions and Practices, are to be found in America.

Seft. 1. **T**H E Christians keep under their Dominion the greatest part of what has been discovered of the Western Continent, which is known only, since 200 Years, and commonly called *America* or *West-Indies*. They keep down the publick Idolatry and Witchcraft of the Inhabitants, as far as their Authority will extend. But as those Nations are Heathens at the bottom, and live to it, whenever they are at liberty, privately continuing their Ancient practices. I shall therefore speak of them, as they are in themselves, to show their true sentiments, and Ancient Customs: for that end, I shall make use of the newest Authors, who have published Relations of the Southern parts of that Country, whom *Montanus* has compiled, and when I come to the Northern parts, I shall abound with Instructions newer and very much credited.

Seft. 2. In Southern *America*, which is the nearest to *Africa*, *Brazile* is the first County to be met with in the North-East, and *Peru* overagainst it to the West. The *Cannibals*, who are Originally of Southern *America*, have extended their Idolatry, through all the Islands, lying betwixt this and the Northern part. All the other parts of the South, and the middle of the Country, having not yet been discovered by the *Europeans*, and being consequently

unknown to us, we can say nothing of it, let us then begin with *Brazile*.

Sect. 3. Tho' that Country be the best known of all, yet we can say but little upon the matter, For the *Bratilians* (says *Daviti*, *Peviard*, *Leri*, and *Abbeville*,) have neither God nor Religion. The *Tourinambres* however believe the Soul to be Immortal, and that those who have performed their Duty, that is, especially, who have often beaten their Enemies, go into the *Ouaïoupiâ*, a place seated behind the Mountains, where they dance in delightful plains; but those that have not done it, go to *Jeropari*, a malicious God, by whom they are to be tormented; they likewise believe, that there are Spirits, and it may be said, that they have some knowledge of God, and that they design him by the name of *Toupan*, because they use to call the Thunder *Toupanremimogan*, that is to say, the Action of God.

Sect. 4. They have also their *Caraibes* or *Diviners*, who frequently foretel the fruitfulness or barrenness of the Year, Rain or Drought, and whatever may benefit Man upon Earth. These *Caraibes* at the same time, are their Surgeons, and boast of curing immediatly bodily pains, by sucking or blowing, which they have perswaded the Vulgar so well, that there is not one even of the eldest, but he is ready to obey their Commands.

Sect. 5. The *Tapuiens*, othewise *Maraguites*, who are divided into 6 or 7 sorts, lye farther into the Countrey. They acknowledg'd two Gods, a Good and a Bad; they pay no worship to the Good, because he is good natur'd, and never hurts any person, but they pray very ardently to the bad, because he kills those that do not reverence him. They undertake neither Journey nor War before they have consulted their evil God, which is performed with great Ceremonies, by virtue of which, they ascribe to themselves the power of foretelling future things

things. Thus sound the words of *Arnoldus Montanus*, in his description of *America*, p. 373. As to their Divinations; of which there is a very special account in this place, we shall be more particularly informed of it, when we examine them hereafter.

Sect. 6. *Viracocha* is the Sovereign God of the *Peruvians*, whose name they explain more at large, by those of *Pachacama* and *Pachayachakik* the Creator of Heaven and Earth: for which reason they also name him *Osapa*, the Wonderful, according to their Opinion. He operates in the Sun, and is there visible. They venerate the Thunder as the God of the Air. *Patnamama* is the Goddess of the Earth, or the Earth it self consider'd as such, and *Mamacocha* is the Sea. They likewise pay a Religious Honour to the Rainbow, but especially to *Coica*. Among the Stars, the Constellation *Vreackillai*, *Lyra*, the Harp, is the God of the Shepherds, and the Constellation *Machacuai*, the Serpent, preserve them, as they suppose, from Serpents; and *Chinguichiacai* has under his power Lions, Tygers and Bears. Moreover, they believe, according to the Relation of the same *Montanus*, That no Creature moves upon Earth, but at the same time the Heavens represent another like to it; and that Earthly Creatures are in the keeping of the Heavens, every one under that which is like to it, which provides for its best advantages, and preserves it. Thence, have proceeded the Names of the Stars, *Chacana*, *Toperatcha*: *Marmana*, *Mirma*, and several others.

Sect. 7. They also believe that Fountains, Rivers, Rocks, the tops of Hills, some Herbs, especially the-root *Panpas*, that has a strange Figure, are as many Gods; there is almost nothing that has an extraordinary shape, or a particular virtue; but they place a Deity in it. Comparing all those things

together, it appears that that people acknowledge Superior and Inferior Gods; the virtue of the first operating by the last, and that they hold the Cælestial Bodies for Gods, because they act upon the sublunary, which are of a particular and necessary use to Mankind. Thus the Heathens endeavour, each according to his fancy, to acknowledge a Deity in Heaven, and to adore it upon Earth.

Señ. 8. The immortality of the Soul, the punishment of the wicked, and the rewards of pious Men after this Life, are generally believed in Peru, but not the Resurrection of the dead, says Montanus, pag. 307. However, 'tis strange that a People who have such a gross Religion, and such material Gods, should nevertheless believe that the Soul subsists, tho' they hear nothing of it after the death of the Body, and that they could not imagine that the Body which subsists still for some time, before their Eyes, though without Life, can return to its first State, as Trees, Herbs and Plants, which dye and revive.

Señ. 9. The Statues of their Gods, that are of many strange Figures, and some very frightful, are used to utter Oracles in their Pagodes. Some, says Montanus, give their Answers, as formerly did the Diabolical Oracles of Delphos and Dodona; he calls them Diabolical, following the common Opinion, that the Oracles of the Heathens were not pronounced by God, but by the Devil. But it may be seen in the Book of Anthony Vandale of Oracles, how little ground that Opinion has: and we shall also treat of it in its proper place.

Señ. 10. As to their practices, no people is so much esteemed in Peru as those we call Exorcists, Magicians and Diviners, because they discover private Robberies, even such as are committed in very remote Countreys, and foretell good or bad fortune, which happens, saith Montanus, by their converse

converse with wicked Spirits in dark places. They declared to the Spaniards the victories their Country-men obtained, or the Battles they lost in the Low Countries, the very same day, that they were fought. There are also in Peru, many She-Diviners, who shut themselves in their Houses, where they make themselves drunk with Chica, mixed with the Herb Vilca, till they fall down on the place, and when they awake, and come to themselves again, they answer all the Questions that are proposed to them.

SECT. 11. The Cannibals who take the Name of Caraiibes, and dwell to the North of Southern America, acknowledge the Sun for their Sovereign God: but in the mean while each Boie or Priest has his own, which he calls out to himself in the most frightful Nights, by Songs or enchanted Verses, in the midst of the smoak of Tobacco. The Devil (says Montanus, but I would rather say the Spirit) utters his Oracles by the means of dead bones, wrap'd up in Cotton. Those Heathens have at all times, but especially, in case of death, much to endure from the Priests or Magicians, (but methinks Montanus had express'd himself better, had he said Priests, rather than Magicians.) One of the greatest disturbances they cause is, that when they are consulted, they persuade People, that such or such has caused them to interrogate such a deceased; which incites the nearest Relations of the deceased to avenge themselves of those, that have disturbed his Rest by that action.

SECT. 12. Montanus adds to this also, The Caraiibes follow a most strange Opinion concerning the Soul, every one believes to have as many Souls as beatings of the heart. The chief of which is still the Heart it self, which after the death goes to Icheiri, or the God that is particular to him, where he lives in the same condition that he has done upon Earth; for which reason they kill the Servants upon the Tomb of their Masters, to go and
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Minister to them in the other World. The other Souls that consist in Beatings of the Heart have two sorts of abode. The Maboias wander in Deserts and Woods; and the Ormiceous keep along the Sea, and overturn Vessels. The Souls of warlike Heroes go into the fortunate Islands, where the Arouages are their Slaves. Bloody Cruel Men go out of this life eternally to wander in dry Wildernesses behind high Mountains, to carry the Yoak of the Arouages, a People that was expell'd out of its ancient abode, if we believe the account that is given of their Destruction. From all this it appears that this Nation acknowledges almost no other God, but their own Souls; of which they have very near the same Sentiments that the ancient Greeks had of their Demons and Heroes.

Sect. 13. Richard Blome, an English Author, has published of late in his America, a large account of the Opinions and Practices of the Carabes, where he speaks of the Isle of St Vincent. They have, says he, some Natural Notion of a Deity, or Supream Being, but who is too much pleased with the enjoyment of the Sovereign Happiness, to disturb himself with the Wicked Actions of Men, and whose Goodness is so great that he is averse from avenging himself of his Enemies, when they refuse to pay the Honour due to him: They likewise believe that there are good and bad Spirits, and that the Good are Gods, each of whom has his particular Admiration; but that the Universe was not created by them, tho' every one of them may be the Creator of the Country where he is venerated, and which he governs.

Sect. 14. - They never call upon their Gods, but to let them come to them, which is done by the Ministry of the Priests, and for the 4 following reasons. First, to be aveng'd for some injury received. Secondly, to be cured of their Diseases. Thirdly, to learn the success of the War. Fourthly, to expel the great Devil, or rather the wicked God

Mapoia,

Mapoua, whom they never adore. Thence may be inferr'd, that they believe good and bad Spirits: besides, they acknowledge the immortality of the Soul; which Opinion is the Original of Demons and Heroes, since as they suppose, they are the Souls of the Deceased, which, they call to their assistance against their Enemies.

Señ. 15. The Description of their Witchcraft, is to be found in the same place after this manner. When their Priests call upon many of their Gods together, they seem to dispute and quarrel with one another, so far as to come to blows; sometimes they hide themselves amongst Dead bones, which they draw out of Graves, and wrap up in Cotton, whence they utter their Oracles. They use that Witchcraft to bewitch their Enemies, for which purpose, the Witches must have something that has belong'd to the party to be bewitched: the Spirit seizes sometimes upon the body of those Women, whence they give formal answers to whatever is proposed to them: They serve up Meat to those Spirits in places separated from the Commerce that is kept with them. The Boy or Priest that has brought it, being gone out, they hear the Dish move, and the Devil (according to *Blome*,) or the God (according to that People) moves the Jaws, and makes a great noise, as if he chewed the Meat, that has been served to him, tho' in the Morning they find that he has not touch'd it.

Señ. 16. I shall yet give a more particular Relation of the *Caraibes* drawn from the description made by *de la Borde*, who was sent by the French King, with the *Jesuit Simon*, to convert that People, what he has in his Relation subservient to our design, *viz.* to know their sentiments concerning the Deity and the Spirits, and to be inform'd of their practices, is as follows. *Louquo, who was the First*

Man, and **Caraibe**, and consequently the **Common-Father** of all the others, was not made by any, but descended from Heaven, here below, where he liv'd very long. He had a great Navel, whence he brought out the **First Man**, as well as out of his Thigh, making there an Incision. There happened many stories during his Life, that would be shameful and infamous to be reported; he made little Fishes from scraps, and little bits of Manjou, which he threw into the Sea; but the great from great parcels of the same Root. He rose again three days after his Death, and returned to Heaven. Terrestrial Animals are come since, but they know not whence. They believe that the Heavens have been from all Eternity, but not the Earth, nor the Sea; that neither of them was in that fine disposition, in which they now are: their mover and first actor **Louquo**, having first made the Earth soft, smooth, without Mountains, but they know not whence he had the matter of it; the Moon followed immediately, but ever since she saw the Sun, she got away, and hid her self for shame, and ever since shew'd her self but at Night; they attribute the Eclipses to **Mapoia** the wicked Spirit, who endeavours to kill them. They more esteem the Moon than the Sun, and for that Reason, rule the days by the Moon, and not by the Sun, never saying a Month but a Moon, nor how many days shall you be on your journey, but how many nights, shall you sleep abroad.

SECT. 17. Their Opinion concerning the Demons, Inferior Gods and Heroes, may easily be learned. They believe that all the Stars are **Caraibes**, and that **Racunnon** was one of the First, whom **Louquo** made, he was changed into a great Snake, that had a Man's Head, and always stood upon a **Cabalas**, which is a very thick, hard, high, and straight Tree, but he was since transmuted into a Star. **Savacon** another **Caraibe**, and since a Star is the Captain of the Hurricanes, and of Thunder, and 'tis he that causes great Rains. **Achinon**, a **Caraibe** and Star, causes little Rains and great Winds

Winds: the Star Couromon raises a Wind, that makes the Sea ebb and flow. They reckon and mark the Years by the Constellation Chirities, which is by them the name of the Pleiades. Cavalnia is the Captain of the Zemeans. Limacani is a Comet sent by the Captain of the Zemeans to hurt, when he is Angry. Joalouca or the Rainbow is a Zemean too, that makes the Carraibes sick, when he finds no Victuals. If it appear to them at Sea, they take it as a good Omen, and say that it comes to accompany them, and procure them a good Voyage, but if it appears at Land, they hide themselves within their Cottages, fancying that it is a Foreign Zemean, that has no Master, that is to say, no Piaie; and therefore can do nothing but hurt, by his Evil Influencies, and undoubtedly seeks to kill some body.

Sect. 18. There are several other things, of which they make Zemeans, especially such as cause some terrour or amazement, as Bats, Which they name Boulliri, that flie by Night about the Houses; they believe that they keep them, and that such as kill those Creatures, become Sick. They have so many sorts of Boule Bonum, that is to say, bad Omens, that I cannot resolve my self, to relate all their Trifles and Dreams.

Sect. 19. Their Religious worship chiefly consists in such Divinations and Witchcrafts, as are agreable to their strange notions. As soon as they fall into a Disease, they fancy themselves to be bewitch'd, and if they can catch the Woman they suspect, they kill or cause her to be killed; for they commonly assault Women, not so freely daring make bold with Men: But before they kill her, they exercise an unheard of Crueltie upon the poor Wretch, their Relations and Friends go to catch her, and cause her to rake up the Ground in several places, untill she has found what they suppose she has hid-den, and often that miserable Woman confesses an untruth to free her self from those Tortures. When they have

have gotten that proof of her being a Witch, they put her to Death in a most Cruel and Barbarous manner, related by the Author, who adds, that the *Caribes* fancy to have several other means to preserve themselves from Witchcraft; for Instance, They put in a great Gourd, Hairs, or some bones of their Deceased Relations, which they keep in their Carbet for some Witchcraft, and say that the Ghost of the Deceased speaks therein, and advertises them of the designs of their Enemies.

Sect. 20. Divinations are made by the means of *Zemans*, that is to say, familiar Spirits, Each *Picas* or *Boie* having his own, and ruling himself by the advices of his detestable Oracles. Thus to know the event of their Diseases, they cause a *Piaice* to come at Night, who immediatly orders all the Fire of the Cottage to be put out, and the suspected Persons to be gone, then he withdraws into a Corner, where he causes the Sick to be brought, and having smoaked a little Tobacco, he bruises it in his Hands, and blows into the Air, shaking and snaking his Fingers. 'Tis said that the *Zeman* fails not to come at the smell of that precious Incense and Perfume, by the Ministry of the *Boie*, who doubtless is in a compact with the Devil. There being interrogated, it answers with an audible Voice, and as it were at a distance, to the Queries put to it. Afterwards he comes near the Sick Person, strokes and gently handles several times the afflicted part, still blowing upon it, and sometimes drawing, or feigning to draw out of it, Thorns, little parcels of *Manioc*, Wood, Bones, or little Fish-bones, which his Devil supplies him with, perswading the sick, that it was that which caused his pain. He often sucks the Aking part, and immediatly goes out of the Cottage to spew up, says he, the Venom. Thus the crazy distemper'd is cured, rather by Imagination than reality; 'Tis observable, that he cures neither Agues nor Wounds, as those of Arrows or a Knife. Not a word is to be said

in that Diabolical Assembly. nor any noise to be made, no not so much as to let a Fart otherwise the Zemean flies away. The Caraiques believe that all the time the Piaie goes above, and comes back only, when the Zemean is gone. As a Gratuity, they present in their Cottages, without other Ceremony, the Zemean, and the Piaie too, for the trouble he has been at in calling out the Spirit, some refreshment, as some Ouicou and Cassavies, upon a Matouton, or little Table, having them there all the Night, if in the Morning they find it untouch'd, they nevertheless persuade themselves, that the Zemean has fed upon it, but has only Eaten and Drunken the Spiritual part; whereas if all be consum'd, for which the Priest never fails to provide as much as lies in his power; 'tis the Zemean that has Eaten it up. They likewise never make a Feast, but the Zemean has his portion.

SECT. 21. Going over into the Continent of Northern America, we meet with the Mexicons, the most considerable People of the Country. Thomas Gage an Englishman, who became a White-Fryar in Spain, and is a judicious and credible Author, saying in what concerns the superstitions of Popery, says in the 20th Chap. of his First Book, That there are above 2000 Gods in the Town of Mexico, the chief of whom were called Visilopuchli and Tescatlipuca, A little after the Author adds, They believed that those two Idols were two Brothers, that Tescatlipuca was the God of Providence, and Visilopuchli that of the War, for which Reasons, they worshiped and honour'd them both above all the others. He also mentions another God, whom they extremely venerated, he had spoken in the foregoing Chapter of Quetzalcoatl the God of Light. I know not whether this last is Quetzalcoatl, whom Montanus calls the Gods of Merchants.

Señ. 22. Going thence to *Guatimale* and *Amatit-lum*, under the Dominion of *Spain*. The same Author speaks much of the Magick of the Inhabitants, which they have neither forgotten nor forsaken, tho they make an outward profession of *Christianity*; to show that they meddle with Divination, he relates that they observe, whether they are the First that see the Beasts going before them in their way: That they likewise observe the flight of Birds, and whether they sing out of their season, about their abode: they also believe, that their Life depends on that of some Beasts, which they keep in their Houses as a Familiar Spirit, so far that they are seized with terror and shake, whence 'tis pursued by Hunters; and fall into a Swoon, when 'tis caught,

Señ. 23. Going over from *New-Spain* into *New-England*, we shall be sufficiently inform'd by the Relation of *Richard Blome*, who says, that the Inhabitants of that Country, tho the dullest and most Savage People in the World, have nevertheless Gods, Priests, and a certain form of worship. The First and most venerated of their Gods, is that who does them most hurt, whom they call *Okee*; they converse with him, and he transforms himself into their shape; they likewise adore whatever they think able to cause them an unavoidable damage, as Water, Fire, Thunder, Lightning, great and small Guns, Horses, the Hedghog, at whose sight they were most frighted the First time the English brought one thither. They believe it to be the God of Swines, and that they had undoubtedly incens'd him. When they design to make War, they consult with the Priests and Diviners, before they undertake it.

Señ. 24. The same Author relates almost the same things of *New-York*, formerly call'd the *New-Netherlands*; he especially reports the manner of
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their Inchantments, and discovers their Cheat, of which we shall speak in the last part of this work; but we may put here, what he says of the *Marylanders*. They believe a Sovereign God who has made all things from all Eternity, and even Inferior Gods, of different dignities, to make use of their Ministry, such are the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars; they believe that all things have been formed of Water, but that Men had their Original from four Children, whom the First Woman in the World conceived from one of these Gods.

Seft. 25. As to the Souls, they believe that those of the Virtuous are taken up to the Gods, to enjoy an Eternal happiness; but that the Souls of those, who have led a wicked Life, go to burn for ever in the *Popogusso*, or that extremity of the World, where the Sun sets down. Upon this subject they recite. *That they perceived a Man to move in his Grave, a day after he had been Buried, whence at last he went out, and came to Life again, he declared to them, that he had been almost precipitated into the Popogusso, but that one of their Gods had preserved him from it, and given him leave to return to the World, to warn his Friends, they should beware of that frightful place. Another being likewise risen, related, That his Soul had remain'd alive, whilst his Body was in the Coffin: that she was gone into a spacious place, planted on both sides with fine Trees cover'd with excellent Fruits, that at last, she was come to a place full of Magnificent Buildings, where he had found his Father Deceased some time before, who had enjoynd him to come back, and tell his Friends what happiness was prepared for them, if they put themselves in a State of obtaining it, by a Virtuous Life; whereupon he was come back into the World. Thence we may plainly perceive the Opinion of that People, upon the State of the Soul, separated*

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from the Body, and that they are more polite and enlightened, than those mentioned before.

Sett. 26. The Inhabitants of *Virginia* hold also *Okea* for the supream God, tho they confels the God of the *Christians* to be above him; because the *Christians* can do more Execution with their Guns, than they with their Bows and Arrows; for their Religion, and that of the most part of the Neighboring Nations is all turned to the War, and to obtain a happy success of it. A Counsellor of one of their Kings being in *England* in *King James* the First time, says, That *Okea* often appears in his Pagode, whereupon 4 Priests enter into it, uttering strange Words, and making Gestures and Postures no less surprizing. These call others again, whom they cause to come in, after the same manner, and the God declares his Will to them, Upon this Declaration, they take their measures in all their Affairs, either journey or any thing else. If they desire to go a Hunting, he precisely teaches them, where the Beast will be found; they receive his Advices with great satisfaction, and never fail to follow them, which often succeeds. He appears to them in the shape of a comly Indian, and after he has shewed himself for some time to his 12 Confederates, he goes up into the Air whence he came.

Sett. 27. The same Author gives us the sentiments of the Inhabitants of *Carolina*, which is part of *Florida*, bordering upon *Virginia*, as we have heard him before, relating those of the Inhabitants of the Island *St. Vincent*. They likewise hold *Okea* to be the Supream God. Good and bad Spirits are look'd upon to be inferior Gods, and they offer Sacrifices to the least, as well as to the greatest Gods. They also believe the Transmigration of Souls, and when any body dies, they bury with him sufficient provision for his maintenance, and all sorts of Cloaths for his use, when he shall be in the *Elysian Fields*, which they fan-

cy to be beyond the Indian Sea. The Author gives the name of Elysian Fields to the places he describes, because of the Relation he has found betwixt them and those the Greeks have call'd by that name.

C H A P. XL

Where all the Sentiments and Practices of so many different Heathens, are usefully compared together.

Sect. 1 **H**itherto, we have but gather'd the various Opinions of the Antient and Modern Pagans, and related their Customs without passing any Judgment upon them, neither is it time to do it as yet; we must first see of what use it may prove to be informed of all these things: to which end we must again consider together, what has been hitherto related, to see what will be the result of it. On the one side, we find that Nations, that extreemly differ in the Opinions they have concerning the Gods and the Spirits; yet on the other side, they wonderfully agree upon the same subject. They differ in the Names they give them, which is not strange, the Tongues being so different, and all the Nations nor ascribing the same properties to Spiritual Beings. Thence proceeds a second difference, that they make not their number equal, nor distinguish them in the same manner, as to their Dignity and Administration, or as to their Operations, as it has particularly been shewn in the 2 Chap. *Sect. 21.* concerning the Inhabitants of *Asia*. But the difference to be found amongst them is not material, and must be accounted as inconsiderable, comparatively to the conformity that
is

is betwixt them all, that looks as a work to which they should unanimously have conspired.

Sect. 2. Whatever has been hitherto quoted; is either collected from the Writings of the *Pagans*, or taken from what passes amongst them, and relates partly to their Sentiments, partly to their Practices. They agree in their Sentiments in two respects; as their understanding is yet in some manner illuminated by the natural Light, or as it is darkned by error. I shall mark both these conformities, and at the same time, the places in which they have been before related, where the instances are to be found: because it would be too long and tedious to repeat them every time, and that I may hope the Reader will take the trouble to look them over, or being all fresh in his memory, he will excuse me from an unnecessary trouble.

Sect. 3. As to the first conformity, if we attentively reflect upon so many instances and testimonies as are contained in the 2d, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th and 10th. *Chapt.* We shall perceive, that those, that are least provided with human Light and Reason, agree nevertheless upon the most important points, referring the Reader to the places where the Instances are set down. All the Heathens therefore, whether Ancient or Modern *Europeans, Asiatick, Africans, North and South Americans* agree in these five principal points, which are of an undeniable Truth.

1. That there is only a first Being, or a Supreme Divinity. *Chap. 2. Sect. 3. Chap. 7. Sect. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7. Chap. 10. Sect. 6, 11, 16, 24, 27.*

2. That there are Spirits, who have had a beginning, and that they are distinguished from humane Souls: *Chap. 1. Sect. 2, 9, 10, 11. Chap. 7. Sect. 2, 9, 12, 18. Chap. 10. Sect. 3, 13.*

3. That

3. That those Spirits are either good or bad, some Friends and others Enemies to Mankind : *Chap. 2. Sect. 11, 15. Chap. 7. Sect. 9, 10. Chap. 10. Sect. 5, 13, 14, 27.*

14. That humane Souls dye not with their Bodies. *Chap. 2. Sect. 15, 16, 17. Chap. 6. Sect. 3. Chap. 7. Sect. 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 20. Chap. 9. Sect. 4. Chap. 10. Sect. 8, 12, 14, 22, 25, 27.*

5. That the Good or evil we have done, will be rewarded or punished after this Life. *Chap. 2 Sect. 18. Chap. 7. Sect. 2, 5, 6, 8, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. Chap. 10. Sect. 3, 12, 25.* for if in the Sentiments of *Epicure* there appear something contrary to this last proposition ; I shall speak of it, and explain it in its proper place.

Sect. 4. But the proof of the obscurity, that is spread over their understanding, discovers it self in their other Opinions : for 'tis observable, that in all their Reasonings, even those in which they speak the Truth, they must take two ways ; by compelling the Divine Majesty to descend from Heaven upon Earth, and by raising the humbleness of Man from the Earth to the Heavens. So that they have too high an Opinion of the Creature, and too despicable of the Creator. That mistake, which proceeds from a confused Notion, of what belongs to the Divine Nature, and to that of Created Beings, leaves them to gross errors, and that are source of their Idolatry and Magick. For 'tis easie to perceive, that none of those practices flow from those 5 Truths just now mention'd, but only from a false and erroneous Idea, as we shall see, if we hear in few words, the result of the preceding observations.

Sect. 5. Concerning the Divine Essence we see, First, that they conceive the Divine Greatness and Excellence, only with relation to their Ideas of the
Human

Human Nature, since they ascribe to the Gods, both Superior and Inferior; an Human Original, Marriages, begetting of Children, &c. *Chap. 7. Sect. 5, 6, 17. Chap. 10. Sect. 16.*

Second. That they have too vile and abject Thoughts of the perfections of God, fancying that he would tire himself, and impair his Glory and Felicity, if he should take in his own hands the direction of all things. *Chap. 2. Sect. 4. Chap. 10. Sect. 13.* For which reason they have associated with him inferior Gods, as Governors under him, *Chap. 2. Sect. 7. 12. Chap. 7. Sect. 2, 8. Chap. 10. Sect. 6, 7, 12, 13.*

Third. That they fix not Goodness as a necessary Idea to the Deity; since they have almost all a wicked God, as well as a good. *Chap. 2. Sect. 4. 12. Chap. 7. Sect. 3. Chap. 10. Sect. 5.* However, with this difference, that they always place the good above the bad; tho' some honour them most, who fright them most, as the *Tapiians*, and the Inhabitants of *New England*. *Chap. 10. Sect. 5. 23.*

Fourth. That they easily confound the Creator with the Creature. *Chap. 4. Sect. 7. Chap. 6. Sect. 2, 3. Chap. 10. Sect. 6, 7, 17, 23, 24.*

Sect. 6. Concerning Spirits, it may be observed,

First, That they make not a suitable distinction betwixt Spiritual and Corporeal substances. *Chap. 2. Sect. 1, 6.* Whence proceeds, that they have attributed, not only to the Spirits, but also to the Deity it self, bodily motions and properties, diversions affixed above in the Heavens, in the Air, upon Earth, or under it. *Chap. 2. Sect. 14, 16. Chap. 7. Sect. 6. 14, 18. Chap. 10. Sect. 12, 25.*

Second. That considering the Spirits or Demons as inferior Gods and Ministers of the great God, they distinguish them into several Orders, as into so many Degrees, according to the administration

ministration they have been entrusted with.
Chap. 2. Sect. 6, 14. Chap. 2. Sect. 7, 8, 11, 12
13, 18.

Third. That conceiving not what difference there is betwixt the Soul of Man and that of Beasts; Some are fall'n into that gross error, as to ascribe to Men and Beasts, a Soul of the same Nature.
Chap. 7. Sect. 14. Without which, it had been impossible that the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, concerning the Transmigration of Souls, into the Bodies of other Men and Beasts indifferently, should have taken so deep roots, and have spread so far into the World.
Chap. 2. Sect. 17. Chap. 7. Sect. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Fourth. That from the same source this Sentiment has visibly proceeded, that the Spirits are wandring, as well as the Souls of Men after their death.
Chap. 2. Sect. 15. Chap. 6. Sect. 2. Chap. 7. Sect. 19, 20. Chap. 10. Sect. 11.

Sect. 7. What contributes most to the vilifying of the Deity, is, that they deify even Men, either during their Life, or after their Death. Witness the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, who transformed the Passions of Men, and the Motions of the Heart, into so many Gods and Goddesses; or as the modern *Cannibals*, who are very near of the same mind, as has been shewed, *Chap. 2. Sect. 14. Chap. 7. Sect. 5, 6. Chap. 10. Sect. 14.* which however is not commonly us'd, but after death, as appears by the *Apotheosis* of the Ancients, *Chap. 2. Sect. 13.* and was no where brought to such a light, as amongst the *Cannibals*, as has been said, *Chap. 10. Sect. 12, 16.* That they believe the whole race of the Gods issued from their Ancestors, and that they themselves are of Celestial Origin: from the same Spring is derived the Sentiment of the Existence of the *Genii* or *Zemians*, that is of helpful Spirits, the description

description of whom may be seen in several Authors.

Señ. 8. It is now easy to conceive on what ground are founded the Divination and Magick of the Ancients, that are the same with the predictions and Witchcraft of the modern Heathens; for, as to their foretelling or Divination, it is grounded upon this.

First. Every God has his People, whom he favours and protects, or his own property; for which Reason, they put questions to him, concerning that which is to happen to his People, and what is to be done on that occasion.

Second. That every God has his Enemy; for which Reason, every one looks for help against the Gods of whom he is to receive damage, and implores the assistance of such Gods, as are esteem'd to be their most violent Enemies.

Third. That every Man has his God or particular Spirit, and therefore every one mistakes his own passions, and whatever comes into his fancy, for divine Inspirations and motions; especially when Dreams supply him with the occasion of it; not knowing that the employments or accidents that have preceeded the Dreams, are the Origin of them, or being hindered by his prejudices, to make an exact enquiry after their possible cause.

Fourth. That it is by confounding the Deity with the Creature, that there have been introduced so many sorts of Divinations and Prognosticks, drawn from the Stars, from the Thunder, from Birds, Mountains, Woods, Waters, and from all the things in which 'tis believed that some Deity is discoverable.

Fifth. That from the belief that the Souls of the Dead are wandering about their Corps, it was easy to take occasion to conjure up Ghosts.

Señ.

Señ. 9. Concerning the Witchcraft, we shall only make the following Considerations.

First, That it is not strange, that distinguishing not only created Spirits, but even the Gods, into good and bad ; they should endeavour to set them one against another, and to defend themselves by the help of the good, or of some of the wicked, against another ; or to avenge themselves by the power of one God, of the wrong they suppose to have received from another.

Second. That having forged to themselves so many sorts of Gods and Spirits superior and inferior, 'tis no wonder, they should believe to destroy the power of the less, by the assistance of the greater.

Third. That having so base thoughts of the Gods, whom they subject to the same passions as Men, and thus Deify human passions themselves, they act consequently, by stirring them up against their Enemies, as it comes into their fancy.

Fourth. That putting some of their Gods so low, and in so great a familiarity with the Spirits, they seem to assume to themselves, the quality of their Directors, and to be able to make the Divine Operations, even in the most hidden things, subservient to what use they please. *Chap. 6. Señ. 4.*

Señ 10. There is yet something to be said upon Divination and Witchcraft together, which partly concerns the thing it self, and partly the gestures of the body used in it. What concerns the thing it self, comes to this.

First, That the Opinion of the Heathens, concerning the *Genii* or familiar Spirits, and the Spirits wandring about Graves, makes 'em believe, that something may be operated by the means of Graves, and Carcasses; for which Reason, they use the bones of the Dead in their Witchcraft, and consult them in their Divinations, in hopes of getting an
answer

answer from the Gods or Spirits, which operate in them, or abide near them, *Chap. 10. Sect. 11, 15.*

Second. That according to this, their belief of the existence of so many sorts of Spirits, whereof most part are wicked Spirits, that walk and wander every where; they are always ready in any unforeseen disease, Mortality, or sinister Accident, to cast the suspicion upon their Enemies or Envious, who have bewitch'd them for believing that the inferior Gods or Spirits act according to the Will of the Men to whom they belong, they must consequently believe, that those Men will not fail to effect reciprocally, the one against the other, whatever the help and power of the Spirits will allow. Now those suspicions, that will surely move Men to seek by whom they have been bewitch'd or the cause, matter, and foundation of Divination, *Chap. 10. Sect. 8, 16.*

Sect. 11. As to the postures used in Witchcraft.

First, The Corporeal Ideas, which they have of the Spirits and of the Gods themselves, move them doubtless to use so many outward gestures in their Conjunction, *Chap. 10. Sect 16.* But there is still another Reason of that Custom, *viz.* That the Priests, who are Impostors, make use of them to impose so much the easier upon the simplicity of the Vulgar.

Second. Considering how the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, is become almost Universal, it may be, methinks, conceived at the same time, how it was possible, that Men should place some Virtue in Letters and Numbers, by gathering and disposing them, in such or such a way, and consequently in the pronunciation of some certain words; for the same *Pythagoras* has believed, that the Virtue of the Deity, influenc'd the proportion, and Harmony of Numbers. Now the Letters of the Alphabet being employed to mark the numbers, not only amongst the

Greeks

Greeks and Hebrews, but by all the other Nations that have some knowledge of Letters, it follows, that ther's not one word, but it can make up a number whence it may rationally be inferr'd, that such or such a word, compos'd in such or such manner, of such or such or such Letters, more or less, has according to their Opinion, more or less power in Witchcraft.

Third. Besides the ordinary numbers, they use also Names and Characters, as it is seen at this day, especially amongst the *Laplanders* and *Finlanders*, whose enchanted Drums are spotted with the like Characters, *Chap. 6. Sect. 5.*

Sect. 12. But I have not yet spoken of what is most important in these Conjurations, that are used, as well for Divination, as Witchcraft, which consists in this, that they are part of the Pagan Religion, and even make it wholly up amongst some Nations, especially in the *West-Indies*, *Chap. 9. Sect. 6. Chap. 10. Sect. 16.* And 'tis almost impossible it should be otherwise, since their whole Religion turns upon their Opinion of the Gods, or draws it's Original from thence.

First. They look by no means upon their practices, nor the scope they aim at, as things evil of their own nature ; but only by the bad use that is made of them, wherefore anciently, the *Magi* and Diviners, were found amongst the King's Attendants, and in the Temples, as are still at this day the *Brainines*, in the *East-Indies*, the *Fetisseros* in *Guinea*, the *Baivas* or *Pians* in *Peru*, and the Country of the *Cannibals*, &c. and several others of the same quality, so that no body is acknowledg'd for Wise, Doctor, Priest, Prophet, nor becomes Councillor of State, unless he be Diviner or Magician, in the sense that has been set down. *The Holy Scripture* shows the same in the persons *Jannes*, *Jambres*, *Balaam*, *Daniel*, and his Companions, of which we

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have said something before, *Chap. 4. Sect. 1. 4.* And it may be observed in the general instances that have been alledg'd, that the Heathens had publick Schools to teach those Arts, that the Priests especially instructed the People in that Ministry, and trained them up from their Youth, which is still practis'd amongst the brutish and dull *Laplanders*.

Second. We see at the same time, for what Reason the entrails of sacrificed Beasts, and some Meats and dress'd Herbs, were employ'd in their Witchcraft and Divinations; *viz.* because in their Opinion, something divine was mix'd with them.

Sect. 13. 'Tis therefore certain, that all their practices were grounded upon a certain knowledge, and partly upon vain conjectures, and very great errors; for to seek the Deity and to fear it, is an effect of the natural knowledge of God, which Men keep in the midst of their greatest corruption. But to admit so many sorts of Deities, of such a low rank, and such a contemptible Nature, and to serve him in so many different ways, is an effect of the corruption of the mind; which, let it be said in reference to those that acknowledge one God, or Spirit, and who believe the Immortality of the Soul, to which belief, the Opinion of the *Epicures* is not wholly opposite, tho' they seem to deny both, or at least, to call them in question; for *Epicure* and his modern followers, deny not so much the existence of a God and of Spirits; as they are earnest to perswade such, as believe both, that their practices bely their Faith, and are not agreeable to their principles; and therefore 'tis impossible that one should be both an *Epicure*, and a *Sorcerer*, or a *Diviner*: And on the contrary, no Heathen ever endeavour'd to contradict the Hypotheses of *Epicure*, without admitting those Arts and their effects.

Sect. 14. For a greater certainty, it will be convenient to hear those Philosophers speak in their own words. *Gassendus* has collected part of what they say, *Sect. 11. Chap. 6.* 'Tis the same thing that God should govern the World by himself, as some affirm, or as others assert, by Ministers generally call'd Genii, or Demons, for when all is done, things go nevertheless their usual way in great part, as tho' there were no such Ministers. And tho' it were granted, that there are some, they could not be such as they are fancy'd, viz. of Human shape, and conversing with us, I will not say that being for the most part wicked, they could not lead a long and happy life, because malignity is joyned to Ignorance, and tends to ruin; That's what they say concerning Spirits, let us then speak of what is practis'd upon that Account, They use to alledge Divination as a proof both of Providence and of the existence of Spirits, but I look with sorrow upon that Human weakness, which seeks for Oracles, even in Dreams, as tho' God being set upon Stilts, came by frightful visions to forewarn Men in their deepest Sleep, of what is to happen to them; as tho' fortune and chance were not sufficient to produce such events, without mixing God, not only with the Sun and Moon, and several other kinds of Animals, but also with all sorts of Stone and Bräsi. Those that speak so, make it evident, that they rather have to deny the existence of God and Spirits, than to acknowledge them such as the other Heathens believed them, and to be obliged to own themselves Sorcerers and Diviners, by granting, that they exist. So much for Paganism, 'tis time to proceed further,

C H A P. XII.

What are the Opinions of the Jews, and how necessary it is to examine them.

Sect. 1. **W**E have hitherto only considered *Paganism*, which has no other light but that of Nature ; now we shall enquire, what those that are illuminated with the light of the Holy Scripture, believe or practise upon that account, In the mean while, it must be observed, that they are not all of one sense, being divided into *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Christians*; which difference proceeds from the inequality of the light they have received, or made use of ; I shall begin with those that are at greatest distance from Christianity, and consequently the nearest to *Paganism*. It seems that the followers of *Mahomet*, should have that place ; so much the more, because we have favourable prejudices on behalf of the *Jews*, as having Anciently been the People of God. But notwithstanding what they have been, they are now so much degenerated, that the belief of the *Mahometans*, may be said to have more conformity with ours, then theirs hath, both detest Idolatry, and acknowledge one God, and take his word for the rule of their Faith. The *Jews* receive only the Old Testament, but the *Mahometans* admit also of the New, adding the *Alcoran* or *Mahomet's Law*, to those of *Moses* and *Christ*, in order to correct and perfect them both. The *Jews* do almost the same as to the Law of *Moses*, by the Addition of the *Talmud*, which contains the traditions of the Ancient. But if the Opinions of both parties

parties were deeply searched into, perhaps it would be found that those of the *Mahometans* favour more the infalibility of the Law and Gospel, than those of the *Jews*, that of the Law alone. Add to this, that *Christ* is acknowledged by the *Mahometans* for a great Prophet, and honoured in that quality, whereas he is horribly blasphemed by the *Jews*. For these reasons I say, that the *Mahometans* are halfe nearer to us, than the modern *Jews*. But what need we any farther proof, since as to this matter, it is plain that the *Jews* are less from *Paganism* than the *Mahometans*, as shall appear by the proof I shall produce.

SECT. 2. As long as we have had to do with *Heathens* only, we needed but to make an inquiry after their Opinions concerning their Gods, the Spirits, and the Souls. But here the Question is not concerning the plurality of Gods, for tho' formerly the *Jews* have been extraordinarily inclined to Idolatry, they have now such a great aversion for *Polytheism*, ever since 2300 years, that they are returned from the *Babylonian* Captivity, that they will acknowledge but one Person in the Divine Unity. They believe, by the light of the *Holy Writ*, that this *only God* is Almighty, and sufficient to himself, and to all things, which he has created of nothing and governs and maintains alone. Amongst his Creatures they reckon Angels and Men, and think that the last have a Soul more excellent, than that of Brutes, tho' far inferior to the Angelical Perfection. Such has been in all times the belief of the *Jews*, and so farr is more agreeable to the *Christian* Faith, then that of the *Mahometans*, as we shall say hereafter.

SECT. 3. But the state of the *Jewish* Religion, whilst the first Temple stood, must be well distinguished from that into which it is insensibly

fall'n. The *Jews* of that time were Orthodox, save only those who suffer'd themselves to be carried into Idolatry, and undoubtedly they had no other Opinion of the Angels, Demons, and Souls of Men, but what the *Holy Writings* still teach us; so that if we still look upon them as different from us, it is because we consider those of latter times, when their State was in its fall, and *Christianity* in its growth. But tho' they be now divided into two Sects, that of the *Carraijim*, who only follow the *Holy Writ*; and that of the *Rabbanim*, who adhere to the Traditions of their Doctors; there is yet but the latter, which deserves to come into consideration, the number of the former being altogether inconsiderable, they being a remainder of the *Sadduces*, which are hardly known in *Europe*, whereas, the other may be called the posterity of the *Pharisees*.

Sect. 4. Tho' we design only to insist upon the latter, yet a more particular difference may be observed betwixt the Ancient *Jews*, and the Modern. By the Ancient *Jews* I understand here, those that lived in the time of our Saviour, of his Apostles, or a little after. *Philo*, who was the Learnedst and Wifest, is of an Opinion not far from that of *Plato*, when he says that the Stars are animated, and that they move circularly by their own intelligence. *Ben Maimon* is in that point of his Sentiment, of which he has made an abridgement in these words. *All the Stars and Celestial Orbs have a Soul, Knowledge, Understanding, and a lasting Life, knowing him by whose Word the Universe was made. Each of these creatures, according to his Excellency and Dignity, praise and glorifies his Author, following the example of the Angels: but as they know God, so they understand what they are themselves, as well as the Angels, who however, are above them. Their Knowledge being inferior*

rior to that of the Angels, and superior to that of Men. This is to be read in the Book of that Author Entituled, *Of the Grounds of Faith*.

Sect. 5. If we come more particularly to examine their Opinions as to the Spirits, whether Angels or Human Souls, we shall not find the Ancient and Modern Writers agree well together. Philo, who is amongst the former, believes, *That the Air is full of Spirits, the most perfect of whom never assumed Bodies, but go to and fro, ascend and descend from Heaven upon Earth, for the service of the Great God. That there are others, inferior in Dignity to the first, who take on Bodies, of which they are deprived by death, and into which some of them return. But others being wearied of this life, go up higher, and live there in peace. But there are others, the most pure and excellent of all, who have a sublime and Divine Understanding, despise Terrestrial and perishing things, are the Ministers of the Almighty, and as the Ears and Eyes of the Great God, those see and hear every thing. The Philosophers call them Genii, and the Holy Writ names them most properly Angels, that is to say, Messengers; for they are really Messengers, who carry to Children the Orders of their Father, and to the Father the Prayers, of his Children: wherefore it is said of them, that they ascend and descend. This is contained in the Book of Dreams written by Philo.*

Sect. 6. If you now desire to hear the Jews of the latter times, and their Opinions upon the Nature of Angels; Vorstius will tell you most truly, in his Annotations upon the Grounds of the Faith, written by Maimonides, that they do not perfectly agree together: For some believe: *That those Spirits have been created of the most subtile Elements, as Rabbi Juda relates it, in his Book, Entituled Cusri. Chap. 4. Sect. 4. Others, as the Author of the Book Jezira, hold,*

as the same Rabbi Juda assures us, that the Angels proceeded from the Holy Ghost. We find also in the Book Chagiga, fol. 14. That by the word of God, administering Angels are created every day. But Maimonides speaks of his own, more wisely upon this subject, and generally upon all others. The Angels, says he, in Chap. 2. Sect. 4. Have an Essence that subsists without Matter, not having Bodies, but being Essences, distinguished from one another.

Sect. 7. Upon this difference of the Angels, in the opinion of the Jews, I think it better to propose what has been said by the same Author, than to quote any other; because there is none amongst them, that may be compar'd to him, either for Learning or Judgment, as not intending to impute to them more foolish Doctrines, than those that are admitted by their most authentick Writers. Thus then Maimonides expresses this Opinion. When the Prophets say, that they have seen the Angels as a fire, and with wings, they speak after the manner of the Prophets, and by a simile, designing only to shew, that they are neither corporeal nor heavy. In this sense it is that God himself is called a Consuming fire, viz. improperly thus, likewise this passage must be understood, he makes the Winds his Angels, or, as it is in some Translations, The Spirits, for the Hebrew word רוח Ruach, having those two significations of Spirits, and of Winds. And therefore the Angels being material are essentially distinguished betwixt themselves, as by degrees, the one being above the other; to which the Author applies these words; 'For a higher than that high, takes notice of it, and there are yet higher than they are. Not that they are placed one above the other, as it is done amongst Men; but as we ordinarily say of two wise persons, that one is wiser than the other, and that the Cause is more excellent than the Effect.' So that he pretends that God himself has produced those

those of the first Dignity, who have brought forth those of the second, and these, those of the third, and so forth.

Sect. 8. Jewish Authors ordinarily establish ten Degrees or Orders, who are distinguished by their Names, in the same *Maimonides*, and in the Book *Midrash Bereshjit*, descending from the highest degree to the lowest. 1. *Chayos Hakkodesch*. 2. *Ofanim*. 3. *Oralim*. 4. *Chasmalim*. 5. *Scraphim*. 6. *Malachim*, or Angels. 7. *Elohim*. 8. *Bene Elohim*. 9. *Cherubim*. 10. *Yschim*. The signification of most of the Names, is very uncertain and far fetcht. However, I shall translate them as briefly as I can, and as I can best guess by the explications they have given of them. 1. *Living Holily*. 2. *Quick*. 3. *Powerful in strength*. 4. *Flames of Fire*. 5. *Glowing Sparks*. 6. *Messengers*. 7. *Gods*. 8. *Sons of God*. 9. *Images of the Temple*. 10. *Men*. 'Tis believed that the first are so called, because they are originally Holy, in a more excellent manner than Men; and that by their influence, they are the cause of the life of all the Creatures inferior to them, which God has created by their Ministry. The name of Men may have been given to the last, because 'tis supposed that they use sometimes to appear by the order of God in a human shape. *They only also*, saith *Maimonides*, *were those who spoke by the Prophets, and are in the nearest degree to the human Knowledge*.

Sect. 9. That's the difference which is amongst them. I shall yet set down in the words of the same Author; how those ten Orders are distinguished from God and Men. *All those living Beings*, says he, *know the Creator in an excellent degree of knowledge; each in reference to his Order, and not in relation to his Excellency. For which reason, the first Degree cannot conceive the Creator, such as he is in himself,*

himself, because their Understanding is too short to attain unto him. However, they approach nearer to him, than the Beings of an inferior Order, and each of these Orders, unto the 10th. knows the Creator more perfectly than Men, who are composed of Matter and Form.

Sect. 10. The Cabbalists, who have traced out the way to the Magick of the Jews, are not contented with these Ten Orders, but divide all the Creatures into four Circles. The 1st, is the Circle of the exhalations, *Avilos*, called otherwise *Zephiros*, Lights, so much exalted in all ages by the Jewish Doctors, who will not have them called either Creatures or Essences of the Creator, but perfecti-
ons distinct from him, as *Manasse Ben-Israel* explains it more particularly, putting them into parallel with the Ideas of *Plato*, and esteeming them to be the Principles of all things. He counts 10 of this Order, the Crown, the Science, Prudence, Majesty, Valour, Beauty, Victory, Glory, Foundation and Kingdom. They name the second Circle, that of the Creation, in which are the Angels separated and distinct from all Corporality, and divided into 10 Orders, the names of which are set down, *Sect. 8.* They place in the third Circle *Fetxira*, that is, the forms, amongst which they reckon such Angels, as have any communication with Bodies. The 4th Circle contains all the other Creatures named *Alchisa* or compounded Beings.

Sect. 11. If I would relate more at large, whatever the Jews have written of the Angels, and the Opinion of each of their particular Doctors, there would not be much agreement betwixt what I shoul say, and what has already been said; they differ so much from one another. However, here follow the Thoughts of some of their Ring-leaders. They speak of three sorts of Angels, the first, is altogether free from Matter, and there are four
Troops

Troops of that sort, which have each their Captain, that stands at one of the corners of the Throne of God. *Michael* is on the Right, *Gabriel* on the Left, *Uriel* before, and *Raphael* behind : This we learn from *Rabbi Eliezer*, in his 4th Chapter. Those Names have a very pregnant Sense. *Michael*, that is, unless it be God ; *Gabriel*, God is my Strength ; *Uriel*, God is my Light ; *Raphael*, God is my Physician. They never appear'd to the Eyes of Man, nor in a human shape, unless in a Vision, and to the Prophets only. The good Angels, whom God employs in the Administration of the World, are in the second Rank. They have often appeared to the Prophets in an human shape ; they dwell above the Cœlestial Orbs, and are called the *Army of Heaven*. But the Devils, or *Schediim*, that are the wicked Angels, or as they use to speak, *Kacodaimones*, the *Bad Demons*, of whom mention has been made, *Chap. 2. Sect. 12.* have their abode under the Moon, and are the Executioners of God's Wrath and Judgments. But as to this last sort, we must more particularly enquire after the Belief of the Jews.

Sect. 12. They call the Devils *Angels of Destruction* or *Death*, *Satanim*, *Satans*, or *Adversaries*. *Philo*, that was Contemporary with the Apostles, will best teach us what they think of it. Thus he writes in his *Book of the Giants*. *Moses* used to call *Angels* what the other Philosophers name *Genii*. Here he takes the word *Genii* in too large a Sense, or he confines that of *Angels* to too strict a Signification; according to that which has been observed before, *Chap. 2. S. 13, 14.* They are, pursues that Author, the Souls that fly into the Air, which none ought to account a Fable ; and therefore it gives a more particular explication of it. As we ordinarily say that there are good and bad Spirits, and good and bad Souls, it is the same with the Angels : Some of them are called
good

good, and are Messengers that go to and fro, from God to Men, and from Men to God, who are unrepachable and constant in their excellent Ministry; but on the contrary, there are others that are Prophane and Execrable, and may well be call'd Damnable, without fear of Lying.

Sett. 13. The Jews report very differently the original of Spirits. *Manasse Ben Israel* asserts, That they were produced by God himself on the second day of the Creation. *Prob. 23.* *Rabbi Eliezer* relates their fall in these words, Chap. 13. *The Administring Angels say to God eternally Blessed: O Lord God of the Universe, What is Man that thou shouldst put such value upon him? What is he besides Vanity? For he can but somewhat reason upon Terrestrial Things. God answer'd, do you pretend that I only desire to be Exalted and Glorified by you, here above. I am the same there below that I am here. Who is it amongst you that can call all the Creatures by their Names? There was not one amongst them that could do it: Whereupon Adam rose and named all the Creatures by their Names, which the Administring Angels seeing, said among themselves; Let us consult together how we shall do to make Adam Sin against his Creator, otherwise he is like to become our Master: Sammael, who was a great Prince in Heaven, (he has been before mentioned, Ch. 12. S. 8.) was present at this Council with the Saints of the first Order, and the Seraphins of six Troops. Sammael chose some of the twelve Orders to accompany him, and came down below to visit all the Creatures, whom God, eternally Blessed had created. He found none so cunning and so proper to deceive, as the Serpent. The Author comes afterwards to the Seduction and Fall of Man, upon which he tells as many Stories as he has already done: So was the Seduction of Man the cause of the fall of the Devil. Afterwards he relates how God punished Adam, Eve, and the Serpent,*

pent, and imposed on each of them his proper Pain. He call'd them all three before him, charged by his Sentence. Adam with nine Curses, and condemn'd him to Death; but he precipitated Sammael, and his whole Troop from the Heavens, the abode of his Holiness: He cut off the Feet of the Serpent, (for it had before the shape of a Camel, and Sammael rode upon him) and he cursed it above all other Beasts and living Creatures. That's the Fall of the Devil, according to the Opinion of the Jews; for we must not charge this Story upon Eliezer alone: The Targums, that contain the most ordinary and received explications of their best Doctors, mention this Fable in several places.

Sect. 14. They give yet another original to the Demon, feigning him to be issued from Lili; That's (saith Manasse) the Name of the Wife of the Devil; who, according to the Opinion of some, had been the Wife of Adam, לילית, Lilit. Is a word to be found in the Holy Scripture, Isa. 34. 14. which our Interpreters translate Satyr, the French Lutin, and the Dutch Dyuell; but we must hear Rabbi Elifha, who in his Thisbi has set up the whole Legend. We find in some Writings that for one hunderd and thirty years, during which Adam abstained from his Wife, there came she Devils to him, who grew big with Child, and brought forth Devils, Spirits, Hobgoblins, and Night Phantasms. I find again in other places, that the Devils have been brought forth by four Mothers, Lilis, Naome, Ogera, and Macholas. We likewise read in the Book of Ben Syra, Quest. 60. that Nebuchadnezar asking him why most Children died within the eighth day of their Birth; he answer'd, because Lili kill'd them, of which matter there is more largely treated in the same place, but I shall not write more of it, because I dont credit it. By that Narration may be seen, how gross the Fictions of the Jewish Doctors

ctors are, since there are Men amongst 'em, who cannot believe them, how apt soever that Nation may be to be imposed upon.

Señ. 15. But, as if those four the Devils had not been sufficient to People the World with wicked Spirits, they have invented a third sort from what is mention'd, *Gen. 6. 2. That the Sons of God seeing the Daughters of Men, that they were fair, took for Wives such as they liked.* From very ancient times, the Jews by those Sons of God understand the Angels. Wherefore *Josephus* says in his first Book of the *Jewish Antiquities*, Chap. 4. *That several Angels of God, mixing themselves with Women, begot a very insolent Generation.* He even knows the Names of those Angels that were carried to that excess of Letchery; *Aza* and *Azael* were the chiefest amongst them, being both enamour'd with the Beauty of *Naema*, *Cain's* Daughter. Thence proceeded the *Giants* mention'd in the same place of the Holy Writ; who, as we may infer from that Narration, must have been half Devils, and half Men. *Asmodee*, the wicked Spirit of *Sara*, Daughter to *Raguel*, of whom mention is made in the Book of *Tobit*, was likewise issued from that Marriage; but others affirm him to be *Sammael*. If it be asked, how Spirits have the faculty of Generating; *Eliezer* explains that difficulty in his 22th Chapter. When they were thrown down from their Holy abode, their strength and shape became like to that of Men.

Señ. 16. But not to fill up this Book with Tales, they had rather imagine, as some Heathens have done, Chap. 2. S. 12. that those wicked Spirits are half Angels, and half Men. Whereupon *Vorstius* in his Notes upon *Rabbi Eliezer*, relates the following words, taken from *Rabbi Scheem Toob*, in that place where *Rabi Nitron* speaks of *Lilim*. *The power of the Devils, Night Phantasms, and Wicked Spirits, which*

we

we sometimes see in a human shape, proceeds from the concurrence of that Chief of theirs; and as to their state, the Opinion of the Learned is, that they resemble Men as much as they do Angels; because on the one side they are not such a subtle substance as those of the other Spirits; and on the other they are not composed of such a gross matter as that of Men. If we desire to know why those cursed Creatures are called by the Jewish Doctors sometimes Spirits, and sometimes Male and Female, as tho' they were Men; the same Toob will tell us in his 5th Chapter, as *Vorstius* relates in the 22th Chapter of *Rabi Eliezer*, where he speaks of a second Order of Spirits consider'd as distinguished into ten Orders. From that Order proceeds in the Universe two sorts of Spirits of Error, or *Satyrs*, who behave themselves like Men, who appear to them in their Dreams in the shape of handsome Women, transforming themselves now into Men, then Women.

Sect. 17. 'Tis now time to learn their Opinion concerning human Souls, at least if they understand themselves distinctly enough, to inform us of it: For it already appears, from what I have quoted out of *Philo*, *Sect. 12.* that the most Learned do not stick to an accurate distinction betwixt Angels and Souls; And *Josephus* that famous Historian, almost as ancient as that other Author, says in his seventh Book of the Wars of the Jews, Chap. 25. That the Spirits called Demons are those of the worst of Men, who fall upon the living and kill them, if not hindred from it. Thence it appears, that he ascribes something Corporeal to those Spirits, so much the more that he fancies that they may be expell'd by the Root *Baaras*, or by some other formerly shewed by *Solomon*, as the same Author intimates in his eighth Book of the Jewish Antiquities: But I am to make a
large

large mention of that sort of Enchantment, in the following Chapter.

X Sect. 18. The Book, which the learned *Hoornbeck* has written against the *Jews*, contains in short their Opinions, as to the Nature and Original of Souls. Their Opinion (says he, Pag. 319.) is, that the Souls were all created together with the Light, the first day of the Creation; and not only that they were Created together, but by Couples; the Soul of a Man and that of a Woman; so that thereby it may be easily understood that Marriages must be very happy, and attended with great Sweetness and Tranquillity, when one marries with his peculiar Soul, that is, with that which was created with her: Whereas they cannot be but unhappy, and turn to the punishment of Men, when they are bound to a Body whose Soul was not created with the Soul of him that Espouses her. We have to strive against that Unhappiness until we be rid of it, and that we may be united by a second Marriage to the Soul that was made our Partner in the Creation to lead a happier Life. *Manasse Ben Israel* gives a more large account of that belief in several places, as in his *Conciliador*, Quest. 6. Pag. 12. In his second Book of the *Resurrection*, Chap. 13. as also in the third Book, Chap. 9. and in his *Treatise de Termino Vitæ*, Sect. 8. pag. 207. which he more largely confirms after the Jewish manner in his third *Question*.

Sect. 19. As to the State of Souls after Death, the *Metempsychosis* of *Pythagoras* is also received amongst the *Jews*, which Transmigration they call *Gilgul*, that is to say, the Revolution of Souls; for they imagine that after Death, the Soul wanders for a year about the Body, whence she is gone out, and goes still rambling, till she meets with another Body, into which she may enter to be born again with it. They fancy that this happens three times, as it is observed in the *Tibsi*, upon the word

word *Gilgul*, in this manner. *The Opinion of the Cabbalists is, that every Soul is created thrice ; to let us understand that she introduces her self successively into the Bodies of three Children or Men.* This they hope in some manner to confirm from the Book of *Job*, ch. 23. v. 19. according to that they say, That the Soul of the first Man enter'd into the Body of King David, and is now to pass into that of the Messiah ; that Mystery being contained in the three Hebrew Letters of Adam, אדם; taking the א as the initial Letter of the name of Adam, the ד as the first of that of David, and the מ as the first of that of Messiah. Their learned hold, that the Souls of the wicked pass into the Bodies of Beasts, each Soul according to the nature of the Sins she has committed. Thus the Soul of a Man that has debauch'd his Neighbours Wife, is to enter into a Camel ; And therefore, (says David) I shall sing to the Lord, כי גמל אלתי, *ki gamal alaii*, because he has deliver'd me from the Camel ; as they interpret it, using this Reason, that when the Hebrew word גמל is punctuated, it is read otherwise, and pronounced *Gamaal*, which signifies a Camel.

SECT. 20. There are some however who believe that the Souls of the wicked perish with their Bodies. *Josephus* says of the Pharisees of his time, that they asserted the Transmigration of the Souls of the good only, but that they sent those of the impious to the eternal Torments, in his second Book of the *Wars of the Jews*, Chap. 7. The Sadducees, according to the Testimony of the Holy Scripture, believed neither Resurrection, nor Angels, nor Spirits, in *St. Matth.* Chap. 22. v. 23. and in the *Acts*, Ch. 23. v. 8. but now the Jews have invented a great many *Chimera's*, that powerfully confirmed them in their Magick, and the practice of their Conjurations ; for, as it has already been said, the Soul separated

parated from the Body must wander a whole year about her Corps, during which the wicked Spirits that abide in the Air, and are call'd מלאכי חבלה, *Malachi Chabbalah*, or Devils of Torments, and have yet several other Names, find occasion to make them reenter into their Bodies, as they have power to do, when they are required to it by Conjurations. Thence proceeds in their meaning, That the *Witch of Endor*, called again the Soul of *Samuel* into his Body, because he had not been dead a whole year. *Manasse Ben Israel* teaches the same Doctrine, and assures us, 'tis that of the Ancients, which he has extracted, especially from *Gemara Siabbas*. There are some however, who have more rational Opinions, as we shall see in the second Book, when we have occasion to examine that instance.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

That the Witchcraft anciently Practised, and still in use amongst the Jews, proceeds from the same Original.

Sect. 1. **W**E have examined the Opinions of the Jews upon that matter, as much as they differ from the holy writ; for as far as their belief is consonant to it, we receive and approve of the same. Let's now see what they practise as to Witchcraft, the Holy Scripture may fully convince us of the great inclination that People ever had for it; which doubtless proceeded. *First*, From the practices they had seen in *Egypt*, and of which perhaps they had not abstained, but had seen the continuation of them in the Country they inhabited, that was surrounded and intermixed with so many Nations addicted to that Art. 'Tis for that Reason the Law gives them such frequent warnings to beware of it, *Exodus*, 22. 18. *Levit.* Chap. 18. v. 31. *Cap.* 5. v. 27. *Deuter.* Chap. 13, 8, 9, 14. *Isaiah*, Chap. 6. v. 12. 20. And that he threatned them so severely, because they could not resolve to forsake that impious exercise, as may be seen, especially in *Manasseh King of Judah*, *2 Kings*, Chap. 21. v. 6. 2. *Cron.* Chap. 3. v. 6. That Sin became general in the midst of *Israel*, or the Kingdom of the 10 Tribes, so that the Scripture says, that *They used Divinations, and observed the cry of Birds*, *2 Kings*, Chap. 17. v. 17. In the Apostles time, there were *Seven Sons of the same Father, one of the high Priests, who took upon them to be Exorcists and to conjure Devils.* *Acts*, 19. v. 13, 14. But all these things made

no part of the contents of their Law, and on the contrary were the effects of their Rebellion, so that *Judaism* was not properly answerable for them, until they were taught by the *Rabbins* themselves, and at last introduced to make up part of their Religion. Such are the Doctrines, which I have represented in the preceeding Chapter, to which the practices of the present *Jews*, are perfectly agreeable.

Sect. 2. The inquisitive *Lightfoot*, has shewed by many proofs that the *Jews* at their return from the Babylonian Captivity, having entirely forsaken Idolatry, and finding they were destitute of Prophets, addicted themselves by degrees to Witchcraft and Divination, about the time of our Saviours coming. The writings of the *Talmud*, that are full of Instructions for that purpose, and are nevertheless in great credit among them, give upon that subject a testimony not advantageous to them, especially since, in the following times, they used the same Arts against Christianity. *Lightfoot* assures us, That after the Destruction of their City and Temple, there were several Impostors amongst them, who eagerly addicted themselves to Magick, by which they got afterwards into great reputation, and that the expounding of Dreams was a pretence they made use of, to commit a vast number of Deceits and Villanies. We see, continues that learned Author, in the Book *Maarsar Shemi*, fol. 45. Col. 2, 3. That Rabbi, *Joseph, Ben Calpata, Rabbi Ismael, Ben. Jose, Rabbi Lazarus, and Akiba*, made it their whole business, many of their expoundings are related in the place I have quoted out of *Lightfoot*, and from several things contained therein, it may be infer'd, that they instructed their Disciples in those Arts. In the Book *Shabbat*, fol. 3. Col. 2. mention is made of a Phantasm, that appeared to one of their Bigots, whilst he was meditating the Law, and fol. 8. Col. 2. fol. 14. Col. 3. all
forts

sorts of Conjurations are treated of, some to cure Wounds, others against the sting of Serpents, against Theft, and even against Enchantments; this I have Collected from the Second part of the works of *Lightfoot*, page 147. where many other things of that nature are to be found, but not necessary to relate, and much less to extract out of the own Books of the Jews.

Señ. 3. However it will not be besides the purpose, to add, what the same *Lightfoot* has gather'd from several of their writings, especially from the Book *Sanbedrin*, concerning their *Bathkol* or the *Daughter of the Voice*, which is the name the Jews gave to the *Echo*, pretending it was an Oracle, that under the Second Temple, supplied the want of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, with which the First Temple was honoured. This is known by all that are but a little acquainted with the Jewish affairs, and have read some of their writings, but here are proofs that show they made use of *Bathkol* in Divinations. Rabbi *Jochanan* and Rabbi *Simeon*, designing to consult *Bathkol*, to go and see Rabbi *Samuel* the *Babylonian*, they pass'd before the School, and heard a Boy reading what is contained, 1 Sam. Chap. 25. verse 1. *Samuel is Dead*. They observ'd that, and found that the *Samuel* they sought was Dead. Here follows another story, Rabbi *Jonah*, and Rabbi *Josah*, went to visit Rabbi *Acha*, while he lay sick, they said let us hear what *Bathkol* will say, and immediatly they heard a Voice of a Woman that said to her Neighbor, The Candle goes out, to which the Neighbor answer'd, Pray don't let it go out, nor extinguish the light of Israel, *Lightfoot*, Tom. 2. p. 167. It is as sure that those words proceeded from *Bathkol*, as it is certain, that *Elijah* is present at the Circumcision of the Children of the Jews, as 'tis commonly believed among them and as all the learned know.

Señ.

Seft. 4. But besides those singularities, we may take notice that all their Witchcraft is founded upon two grounds, the influences of the Stars, and thy apparitions of Spirits, the reason of the former ground is, that tho they esteem not the Celestial lights to be Gods; yet they ascribe to them a particular virtue, working upon, and influencing Human Actions, as well external as internal senses. We have already heard *Philo* and *Ben. Maimon* upon that matter. 'Tis very usual with them to say, *The Planets make such a one Wise, or Rich, as Buxtorf* relates it in his *Lexicon Talmudicum*, out of the Books of the *Sabbath*, these are happy influences or Constellations, that are called *Mazzal-toob*, but *Mazzal-ra* is a malignant Star, under which one is born, or whose virtue influences him all his Life. *Buxtorf* says again upon the Authority of the same Book, *That the Planet of the Day of ones Birth, influences him not, but only that of the Hour.* And even, we find in that Book which is the *Genius* of every Man, according to the Planet under which he's born, He who is born under the *Sun*, will be handsome, free, not dissembling, but of an unconstant humour. Under *Venus*, he'll be rich and lecherous. Under *Mercury*, skilful and of a good memory. Under the *Moon*, sickly, and unstedfast. Under *Saturn*, unfortunate. Under *Jupiter*, just; and Under *Mars*, happy. Which is the same with all the other Constellations. In the mean while it is commonly said, *That there is no Planet in Israel*, because all the *Jews* seem to be born under one Planet, being all of the same *Genius* and Conduct; therefore we must conclude, that those distinctions concern only strangers, and that *Israel* has the skill of foretelling their good and bad Fortune. However they are much disturb'd when the Moon is Eclipsed; because they take that accident as an ill presage to them, which is an evident proof

proof of the unstedfastness of the Jewish Nation.

Sect. 5. As to the Spirits, *Manasse, Ben Israel*, discovering the true ground of the Jewish Divinations, leads us to the wicked Spirits, saying, *That some of them are skilful and shrew'd, and others foolish and dull. The most skilful, flying from one corner of the World to the other, sometimes learn what is to happen.* For this Reason he acknowledges page 18. *That several Conjure up those Spirits, and do wonders by help of the black Arts. We read even in some Cabbalistical Books, as in Pirke Chalos, and Ratziel, and in some others, the names of those Spirits, and the form of the Conjurations used for that purpose.* There are also to be found all the presages that may be drawn from the various sorts of Apparitions. If those Sprits appear to a Man alone, they forebode nothing good; if they appear to two persons together, they presage nothing ill; but it never happens, that they shew themselves to three in a company.

Sect. 6. The ways and means they use for their Witchcraft and Divinations, are to be observed in the Ceremonies of their Feasts, and the whole course of their ordinary Life. Every one knows that Marriage is the lawful way to beget Children, which makes them believe one must needs know how to preserve himself in that occasion, from the wicked Spirits. There is none but has read the Book of Tobit, how he expel'd the Devil *Asmodee*, by the inspiration of the Angel *Raphael*, and how they took together a Fish, which as some suppose was a Pike, as to the Heart and Liver, says *Raphael*, if the Demon, or wicked Spirit disturbs any Person, whether Man or Woman, he needs but make a perfume before him, and the party shall be no more vexed, Chap. 6. v. 7. When he was marry'd with Sara, he remembred the words of *Raphael*, and took the Ashes of the perfumes, put the Heart and the Liver of the Fish thereupon, and made

a smoke with it, which when the Evil Spirit had smelt, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him there, Chap. 8. v. 23.

Sect. 7. If that Narration is esteem'd Apochryphal by the Protestants, that of *Josephus* deserves not a better name, when in the Second Chap. of the 8th Book, of his *Jewish Antiquities*, he deduces the Original of Magick from *Solomon*, and lays the foundation of it, upon the wisdom of that King, nay he asserts, *That God himself had inspired him with that Art so powerful against Demons*, for says he, *He has made use of Witchcraft to expel diseases, and has left in his writings, forms of Conjurations, by which the Devils that molest mankind are so far banished, that they never dare come back again. And that sort of cure is now in great request amongst our Nation.* It consisted according to the description given of it, in the use of some certain Root, which they seal'd up, and put under the Nostrils of the possessed. At the same time they uttered the name of *Solomon*, and the words of his Conjunction, and so was the Devil forced to flie. He declares to have been an Eye-witness himself of an operation of this nature, made in the presence of the Emperor *Vespasian* and his Sons, on the Person of one *Eliezer*. We will examine in our 4th Book, how the sight of *Josephus* was then disposed; but in the mean while, we could wish he had explained to us, whether this Root is the same with that he mentions in the 28th Chap. of the 7th Book of the *Jewish Antiquities*, which he calls *Baaras*, because of the place where it grows, since he also ascribes to this last, the wonderful virtue of expelling Demons; for according to his relation, one needs but touch the possess'd with it, and the Devil is forced to run away, but of this more in the 4th Book.

Señ. 8. Here follows how the present *Jews* are molested all their Life by the wicked Spirits, and how they beware of them. When a Child comes into the World, the terrour of *Lilis* comes with him, to seize upon the Spirits of the Parents, because that *Lilis* intends to kill the Boys, within 8 days of their birth, and the Girls within the 21th. The remedy of the German *Jews*, to preserve themselves from that danger, is, To draw circular lines with Chalk or Charcoles, upon the 4 Walls of the Chamber, wherein the Woman lies, and to write upon each Circle Adam, Eve, let *Lilis* be gone, they also write upon the Door of the Chamber the names of the three Angels that preside over Physick, *Senoi*, *Sanfenoi*, and *Saumangelof*, as *Lilis* her self taught them, when she hoped to drown them all in the Sea. This is related by *Elias* in his Book entituled, *Thisbi*, to which he gives no great credit, as he himself witnesses. I cannot omit what *Buxtorf* says in his *Lexicon Talmudicum*, concerning the weapons wherewith they arm themselves against Phantoms. *A Vail spread over the Face, hinders the Phantasm from knowing him that is frighted, but if God judges that he deserves to be terrified for his sins, he causes the vizard to fall down, that the Ghost may see and bite him.*

Señ. 9. But what terrour soever the Devil causes to them, they nevertheless believe, that if they take their opportunity, they may prevent his endeavours without trouble. To this the choice of days is of great use, and they have so great a regard for them, that they do no longer deserve the reproach, that was cast upon them, of *Not understanding the signs of times.* The same *Buxtorf*, in his *School of the Jews*, will supply us with a specimen of that Custom, At the great day of propitiations, they appease *Sammael* with a present, for on that only day in the whole Year, he is allowed, by a compact with
Vol. I. G God,

God, to accuse *Israel* of their transgressions. Besides, they believe themselves so cunning as to cheat the Devil. The *First* means they use for that purpose, is to blow upon the Corn, withall their strength, from morning to night, fancying to make *Sammael* forget the quality of it, by the fright they cast upon him. The *First Day* of the Year is also fit to put another cheat upon him, for as on that day, God sits in judgment for the examination of Sins, they endeavour to hinder their Enemy from bringing his accusations against them, by concealing from him the date of the Day. The subtilty they use in that occasion, is that they forbear to read, either the begining or the end of the Law, as *Sammael* supposes, that they shall do that Day, and thus they never fail to catch him. They also abstain as much as they can on the 17th day of the Month *Tammus*, that answers to our *June*, and the 9th of the following Month on which falls their Second fast to go from home, and especially avoid to make any journey of 4 or 5 Miles; or to appear in a Court of Justice, because that time is the reign of a wicked Spirit call'd *Ketelmeriri*, bitter Destruction, a name drawn from *Deut. Chap. 32. v. 24.* Where *Moses* however speaks of quite other matters.

Seet. 10. The *Calbala* chiefly uses such Witchcraft, as is made by numbers and Letters, and is in great request amongst the Jews. It even teaches to apply to it the sacred word of God, and withall some sentences and discourses, or only some proper words and particular names, to which the Jews ascribe a great Virtue; whether they attribute it to the power of the apparition of absent bodies, or of incorporeal substances, or whether they presume to effect by that means, strange and wonderful things. *Malka Scheva*, or the Queen of *Sheba*, that went to visit King *Solomon* in his glory, has been often conjured

jured up, as they fancy, and has appeared to the superstitious. In short, as to what concerns the other extraordinary effects, which they boast to produce, they are held for great forcerers, even by *Christians*, over credulous in this point; for there are *Germans*, who look upon them as Men, that can stop conflagrations, and quench Fire, by throwing upon it some bewitch'd things; that can draw two or several sorts of Wine out of the same Vessel, and are capable of producing many other wonders.

SECT. 11. To speak of the other uses, they make of names in Witchcraft, it must be granted, that they make no more difficulty to mix the name of God with it, than that of the Devil. The famous name of יהוה that which we use to read *Jehovah*, when punctuated, is multiplied by their Doctors, by 12, 42, and the 72 Letters, which they dispose and make words of them, and apply them to Witchcraft. For that Reason, they call it *Shem Hamborash*, a name explained or divided. They believe it to have a great Virtue; by him *Moses* kill'd the *Egyptian*, by him *Israel* was preserv'd from the hand of the destroying Angel in the Wilderness; and by him *Jesus Christ* expel'd wicked Spirits. Thus they blaspheme the Second Person of the *Holy Trinity*, not being able to deny his power. It is easy to be inform'd of all these things in their own writings, and by their own consent. The name of the Devil is likewise of much force to his great loss and sorrow. That force proceeds from the 4 Hebrew Letters, that compose this name, with the Article prefixed to it, אשטן *Hassatan* that make up just the number of 364, that is, of all the days of the Year but one. Now the Jews pretend, that by Reason of the Virtue of that number 364, included in the name of *Hassatan*, he is deprived of the right of accusing them during a like number of days in the Year, and therefore he has but one re-

maining, in which he may do it, so that if he chance to neglect that day, or to be then deceived or puzzled, he may well be sorrowful, and the Jews very glad, all this is grounded upon the passage of *Zacharia*, Chap. 3. v. 2, *The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan.*

Seft. 12. They also pretend to find a great Virtue in the reckoning of Letters, and their disposition into several different orders. They write on the forepart of Houses, and the Walls of Chambers, some strange Characters of no less extraordinary names, which they use to give to those Angels, that are established over the plague, supposing by that means to be sufficiently secure from the burning darts of that consuming scourge. The word *Diriroom* is likewise an infallible preservative against the Pestilence, when 'tis written 22 or 23 times, that is as many times as there are Letters in their Alphabet, of which they put one every time before that word, beginning with the first Letter, and ending with the last. They have likewise excellent remedies against Agues, the word *אברקלו* that is made up of Six

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Letters, being written 6 times in as many different files, leaving out a Letter of every file on the left side, is, in their Opinion, an excellent remedy against the quartan Ague, the stumbling block of the Physicians. By this any one may perceive how great Virtue the

Jews ascribe to Letters, Characters, and Names. Here you have another Mystery taught in the Book

שברירי

ברירי

רירי

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ריר

Aroda Zara, 'Tis dangerous to drink at Night, why? because that makes People blind, but if one be dry and he drinks, what then? here is the remedy. The Hebrew word *שברירי* *Shebriri*, that is, *lost sight or sudden blindness*, being written as it is here in the

Margent, and hung about the Neck, cause the blindness

not to go off, as much as we see decrease the first Letters of this word, untill they be altogether vanished, and the blindness gone. Those Instructions are to be found in the *Lexicon Talmudicum* of Buxtorf.

Sect. 13. By this short *Specimen* of their Witchcrafts, may be seen the Relation that there is, betwixt the Practices and Doctrines of their *Rabbins*, contained in the fore-going Chapter, from which, doubtless, those practices take their Original.

First, Their opinions of the Materiality, as I may say, of good and bad Spirits, *Chap. 12. Sect. 8. 10, 14, 15.* was the cause that they ascribe to them, external and visible shapes, with effects of the same nature, as they have been described, *Sect. 6. 8.* For material Causes act materially, whereas Spiritual things are for those that are Spiritual. *1 Cor. 2. 13.*

Second. It was no hard matter that the strange Thoughts they have of *Sammael*, Prince of the Devils, and of *Lilis* his Mother, according to some *Chap. 12. Sect. 13, 14,* should carry them to practise Conjurations, by which they hope to put Mother and Son to flight, or at least to turn them off. *Sect. 7, 8, 9.* Whoever is so credulous in that point, is very apt to mistake in all others.

Third. Their great and general esteem for the *Cabbala*, that ascribes so much power to Letters, Names and Numbers, is the original of all the sorts of Witchcraft, that are performed with Letters, Numbers and Characters. *Sect. 10, 11, 12.* And 'tis no wonder that a Nation, who has lost the vivifying Spirit of the Letters of the Holy Writ, should now so curiously, and with so much trouble, seek the help of those Letters destitute of the Spirit of Life.

Fourth. It must be observed, that being antiently used to Prophecies, Visions, *Urim* and *Thummim*, they now bethought themselves of the empty sound of *Battle-sole*, and the influences of the Stars, to supply the want of the advantages they had lost.

Seet. 14. When we recollect all those things, we easily perceive, that tho' the *Jews* are not partakers of the *Pagans* Idolatry; yet they have a near Relation to them, as to the Opinions and Customs they have not drawn from the Holy Scripture. Nay, they go farther than the *Heathens*, and are in a more Diametrical opposition to the Principles of their own Doctrine, than the *Heathens* with those of their Religion; for the *Jews* conceiving plainer than they do, that there is but one Creator and Director of all, sufficient to himself, and having such a strong prejudice against all the Gods invented by Men, and against whatever has any nearness to Idolatry. 'Tis not easie to forgive them their dependency upon the Stars; their fear of the great Devil *Sammael*, nor their Faith for the virtue of Words, Letters, Characters and Numbers; since the *Heathens* were obnoxious to those faults, only because they had not a sufficient knowledge of the Supreme Deity, and did not relye so much upon him as they ought to have done: whereas they trusted too much upon the Creatures, which they had Deify'd themselves. However, our amazement will diminish, if we observe that all these Doctrines have been drawn from Paganism, and have been received amongst them, only by an effect of the natural inclination and eagerness of that People, for such Fables and Inventions, without considering, whether or no they were agreeable to the Rules of the Law. But the utmost blindness is to persist in them to this very day, without reflecting upon the State, in which the
Divine

Divine Justice has put them, by an entire destruction of their Common-wealth, and scattering of their Nation amongst the Heathens. In the mean while I desire the Reader to observe, that hitherto we have met with nothing, of whatever is called Witchcraft, Phantasms, or Diabolical Apparitions, but it draws its Original from Heathenism.

C H A P. XIV.

That the Doctrine of the Spirits, and the exercise of Magick, are also in request amongst the Mahometans.

Sect. 1. **W**E cannot say many things with great certainty, concerning the *Makometans*, upon the matter in hand, for we must learn it, either in the *Alcoran*, that is the Law of *Mahomet*, or from the Precepts of their Doctors, which very much differ from the Law. As to the *Alcoran*, I would not trust to any but my self, and therefore have read it, sheet by sheet, from the beginning to the end; but could not gather any particulars, relating to our subject, except that little which I shall mention hereafter. Besides, there are come to my hands but very few writings of the *Mahometans*: yet I have read some very credible *Christian* Authors, that treat of their belief, whom I shall presume to make use of; because every one knows, that during their abode amongst those Nations, they have examined very impartially and narrowly, such things as they relate. Now there's none but knows, that the Doctrine and Worship of that Sect, as they are contained in the *Alcoran* and their other Writings, are involved with many Fables

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bles and Fictions, which are generally received as Truth amongst them, but explained in a very rational sense by the Learned, which makes it, that they are not so intolerable in that respect, as that they are false and groundless. And therefore, 'tis but reasonable to use this circumspection, that knowing that sort of People to be Men of sense, as there are many in other Sects, we interpret their Fables only with relation to that, which is clearly and significantly express'd in other places, and in reference to the tendency they seem to have, in what is related of their other Opinions.

Sect. 2. It is also reasonable to relate at first, what is to be gathered from the *Alcoran*, and to joyn to it afterwards, what other Authors supply us with, either as to the Doctrine of the Spirits taught amongst the *Musulmans*, that is the *Faithful*, as they love to call themselves, or as to their practices in Witchcraft and Divinations. But because the Book of *Laws* collected after the death of *Mahomet* by his Disciples, that are the most famous Doctors of the *Musulmans*, is not uniform, as to the Order in which it is translated in several Languages; for the conveniency of the Reader, I design to follow the division observed by *du Rier*, in his *French Translation*, and by *le Verrier* in his *Dutch*, who both divide the whole work into 113 Chapters.

Sect. 3. First of all, 'tis amongst them a fundamental point, repeated above a hundred times in the Book of the *Law*, that *God is but One, and hath no partner*: in which they perfectly agree with the *Jews*, even in reference to the Holy Trinity, as has been already mention'd, *Chap. 12. Sect. 1.* *Marmol* says however, in the first part of his description of *Africa*, *Pag. 128. Edit. Paris.* That the *Morabites*, a Sect of *Mahometan Arabs*, hold that the *Heavens, Stars and Elements make up but one God together*

gether. The *Sabii*, another Sect of the *Turks*, believe that there is some Deity in the Sun and Moon, because of the influence those two great Lights of the Universe, have upon sublunary Creatures, according to the Relation of *Ricaut* in his description of *Turkey*, Book 2. Chap. 12. *De la Vall* in his journey, Book 4. Chap. 17. says, that amongst the *Persians*, several *Mahometans* ascribe assisting Forms and Intelligences to the Sun, Moon and Stars, by which they are quickned and directed, as our Bodies are by our Souls.

Sect. 4. In most, or all the pages of the *Alcoran*, mention is made of the Holy Angels, of the wicked Devil, and of the Original of Devils, far more rationally, than in the Books of the *Jews*. For they make the Angels immaterial, tho' they believe that they appear in a Corporeal shape, as is to be read in this passage of the 5th, Chapter. *The Angels*, say they, *are the only constant and immutable Creatures, there being no others endued with such Properties.* Thus is this passage quoted by *Levinus Varnerius* in his *Miscellanies*, who has extracted it from some other Book. But this is a reasoning of the most thinking part and the best Philosophers amongst them. For *Mahomet* himself believ'd that the Angels had been created of some certain Matter, as he gives us to know in one of his Fables, to be related anon. He often speaks too grossly, and gives us occasion to doubt whether he understands in a proper or figurative Sense, what he so frequently says, that the Angels go to and fro, hear the Law, have Beings, and even are distinguish'd into Males and Females; for he believes that distinction of Sexes to be found in every thing; See his 52, Chap. pa. 594. He no less vilifies the Dignity of Angels, ascribing the cause of the fall of some to their refusal of paying an extraordinary Honour to *Adam*, who was wi-

er than they were, and convers'd more familiarly with God. For God taught Adam the Names of all things, and Adam taught them to the Angels, Chap. 2. pa. 5. Lastly, the great number of Guardian Angels, whom he gives to every *Musulman*, evidently infers, that one of his Disciples was look'd upon by him of greater worth than several Angels.

Sect. 5. Mabomet has very plainly express'd, in several places of his *Book of the Law*, his Opinion upon the Nature and Original of Devils, who at the beginning were created in the rank of the Angels, whence they fell for their envy. Thus in the 6th, Chap. Pag. 109. he introduces God, speaking to him. *I have created and made thee, I have commanded the Angels to adore Adam, which they have done, save only the Devil.* This place must be understood with the distinction, brought by *Levinus Varnerius*, out of a Turkish Book, *Adoration belongs to the Great God as a Worship, but it may belong to others as a mark of Veneration.* In that Sense it is that Adam was adored by the Angels, and Joseph by his Father and Brothers. *Mabomet* proceeds, relating what God said to the Devil. *What hinders you from adoring Adam, as I have order'd you?* The Devil Answer'd, *Because I am Superior to him, since thou hast created me out of Fire, and Man out of Clay.* Hereupon I said, *Go out of Paradise, 'tis not the abode of the proud; thou shalt be in the number of those that are cover'd with infamy.* He replied, *Let me be here till the day of the Resurrection.* Why, said he, *hast thou tempted me?* I shall, said he, *turn Men from the right way, I shall hinder them by all means from believing thy Law, and even let the greatest part fall into ingratitude.* I said to him, *Go out of Paradise, thou shalt be rejected by all the world, and deprived from the effects of my Mercy, and I shall fill Hell with those that shall listen to thee,*
and

and follow thee. The same Relation is repeated in the 14, 16, and 37 Chapters. Pag. 293, 381, and 511. And tho he mentions but one Devil, as the Chief, he nevertheless believes a vast number of good and wicked Angels; for in the 7th, Chapter he speaks of thousands of good Angels, whom God sent once from Heaven to his assistance, whilst he prayed; he likewise mentions the Demons in the plural number, as Chap. 6. *We have created Hell to punish Devils and Men.*

Sect. 6. His distinction betwixt the state of Angels and Devils is not to be rejected in all respects: such as they are towards God and the Faithful, such he describes them to be one towards another: Chap. 7. Pag. 198. *God said to his Angels, I will be with you, confirm the steps of the true faithful.* Chap. 11. 278. *The Angels tremble in the presence of God,* Chap. 20. Pag. 360. *They are not ashamed to adore him.* And again, Chapter 15. Pag. 296. *God orders his Angels to go down, and sends his inspiration to whom he pleases.* This, as he believes, particularly happens some certain Nights; Chap. 96. Pag. 284. *The Angels descend at night upon Earth, by the leave of their Lord; and visit the true faithful, till the break of the day:* Chap. 12. Pag. 290. *They will visit the faithful in the Garden of Eden, they will salute them, and say, here is the reward of their perseverance; here is the Eternal Grace.*

Sect. 7. As he holds that the Angels are always ready to serve God, on behalfe of the Faithful; so he believed them no less forward, in performing his Orders against the impious. *When,* says he, Chap. 5. pag. 155. *the wicked are at the point of death, the Angels stretch out their hands to seize upon their Souls.* And further, P. 172. *The Angels of death shall kill those that blaspheme God and his Commandments;* Chap. 7. Pag. 203, 204. *Thou hast seen that the Angels*

gels have put to death the unfaithful, and stricken them, before and behind. A great power for the executing of God's Judgments, is ascribed to them: for an Angel is sufficient to destroy all the Inhabitants of the World, as *Levinus Varnerius* quotes it out of a *Turkish Book*.

Sect. 8. He forgets not the evils caused by the Devil for the seducing of Man. The first was his having them banish'd from Paradise, *Chap. 1. Pag. 7.* He caused Adam and his Wife to sin, and to fall from the Grace in which they were, *Chap. 2. Pag. 8.* God advertises Mahomet, that the Devil would make him afraid of the unfaithful, *Pag. 150.* The Devil will make them forget my Commandments, *Pag. 160.* Think upon the day in which I shall gather all the People, and say to the Devil, O thou Prince of the Devils, why hast thou rebelled against me? *Chap. 56. Pag. 608.* For the Devil has puff'd up Man, and made him revolt from the Commandments of God. He seems even to believe, that the malice of the Devil extends as far as the Stars, with which, he says, God has adorned the Heavens and which he preserves against the attempts of the Devils, *Chap. 40. Pag. 534.*

Sect. 9. Such are his Opinions as to the Angels in general; but as to their particular Ministry, *Thevenot* relates, 'That the Turks acknowledge Guardian Angels, but in far greater number than we do, for, say they, God has ordained 70 Angels for an invisible Guard to each Musulman, and there happens nothing to any person, but they attribute it to them. Each has his particular Office, one watches over one Member, and th'other over another; one is so subservient in this, and the other in that Affair. Amongst all those Angels, there are two who preside over all the rest, sitting one on the Right, and th'other on the Left hand, and being call'd *Kerim Kiatib*, that is to say, Merciful

'ciful Writers : That on the Right hand keeps account of the good Actions, and that on the Left of the bad. They are so merciful that they spare him, if he commits any sin before he falls asleep, hoping he shall repent, if not, they set it down, but if he repents, they write, *Eftig fourillab*, God forgive. They accompany him every where, unless when he goes to the Necessary house, whither they let him go alone, waiting for him at the door, where they again take possession of him. For that reason, when the *Turks* go to that place, they go in with the Left Foot, and when they come out, they put the Right Foot foremost, that the Angel who sets down their good Works, should seize first upon them. *Mahomet* himself confirms that Fable, saying, *Chap. 52. Pag. 594. Think, O Man, on the day when thou shalt see near thee, thy good Angel on thy Right hand, and thy bad Angel on thy Left, who have noted and written whatever thou hast done.*

Sect. 10. 'Tis observable, that this Fable has its Original from the immortality of the Soul, and the resurrection of the dead, which the *Turks* believe, and are plainly express'd in the foregoing words and else-where: as *Chap. 12. Pag. 280. The faithful shall go into the Garden of Eden* : but to the unfaithful he says, *Pag. 288. Hell is the place to which you are destin'd. Chap. 52. Pag. 594. God takes up the Soul of Man, as he thinks fit, to send her into one of those places.* But first, she returns into the Body after its burying, to undergo the strict examination of two frightful Angels, *Munquir* and *Guaquir*; the Fable which *Thevenot* relates upon their account, and that of the Beasts, is so gross, that I should be ashamed to recite it at large.

Sect. 11. In the mean while it will not be unserviceable to our subject, to give a more particular instruction of their belief upon the state of the Dead. I will not here speak of their Carnal Paradise, because I treat not of all the points of the *Mahometan* Religion, but only of what concerns the the Spirits; they acknowledge that there are appointed two very different places, one for the damned, and the other for the saved; that is to say, there are Men, who have done so many good works, that at the very hour they expire, they are admitted into the happiness of Paradise; but there are others, who having not a sufficient Faith, are subjected to pains for their Sins, until they be all expiated; after which they enjoy in Paradise, the same felicity with the others, that are gone in first. But as to the unfaithful and wicked, they go to burn forever in Hell, where there bodies are as often repaired by God, as they are reduced to Ashes, that their torments may be Eternal: That's the substance of what *Thevenot* writes, *Chap. 20* and *31* of his journey, and *Ricaut* says almost the same thing, *Chap. 2. 6.* and *12.*

Sect. 12. The transmigration of Souls from one body into another, not only of ~~Human~~ Souls, but likewise of those of Beasts, is also believed by some *Mahometans*. *Ricaut* testifies, *Book 2. Ch. 12.* That one of their Sects, called *Munafichi*, holds that Opinion; and takes occasion from thence to relate how one *Roboroski*, a Polander, was dealt with by a Druggist, that was angry with him, because he had kick'd his Dog, for they believe, *That the Souls of Men after Death, enter into the bodies of such Beasts, with which the Nature and temper of the bodies, that were animated by those Souls, had most relation; that the Soul of a Glutton passed into the body of a Hog; that of a Letcherous, into that of a He-goat; that of a Generous person, is destin'd to animate a Horse, and that*
of

of a Watchful Man to quicken a Dog. To this he adds, several circumstances, which the curious may see in his own Book. He likewise asserts that the Sect *Eschrakin*, that is, illuminated, is likewise *Pythagorean*, but that it holds not much of the Doctrines of the Alcoran, tho' most of it's followers are the *Schicks*, or the *Preachers* and chief Doctors of the *Turks*. They have more rational Opinions than the others, concerning the immateriality of Spirits, and the Heavenly happiness.

Sect. 13. For the *Sabins* or *Sabii*, of whom mention is made before, scarce believe that the Soul is immortal. *Delavalle* in his 4th Book, Ch. 23. describes some *Persians* that are like them, they are called *elh elshabquid*, that is, *People of truth or certainty*. They constitute the Essence of the Soul in the mixture and union of the 4 Elements, as far as I can observe by the explication he gives of their belief. The Soul returns to God in the same manner as she proceeded from him, for she proceeds from him, in as much as he is the Author of that complication, of the 4 Elements, and she returns to him, in as much as he separates them. That Sect is very numerous, tho' look'd upon as Heretical by other *Persians*.

Sect. 14. Every one of those various Opinions, is discoverable, by the practices of it's followers. *Delavalle* relates Ch. 17. that the *Persians* have a great veneration for the greatest and eldest Trees, because they persuade themselves, that they are the abode of the Souls of the blessed; for which Reason they call them *Pir*, that is, *An Ancient Man*, or *Scheich*, the *Eldest*, or *Iman*, *Priest*, supposing that the Souls of the Priests and Old Men, dwell in such Trees. There are others, who having learned from *Pythagoras*, to enquire after the Virtue and Mystery of numbers, are addicted to all sorts of Witchcraft, as the Inhabitants of the Coast of *Coromandel*,

mandel, Ch. 8 Sect. 5. They boast says Marmol, Book 2. Chap. 3. pag. 131. That the Celestial Spirits appear to them, and communicate to them an entire knowledge of the affairs of this World. They are much feared and revered in Africa, as being great forcerers. The rule they keep was composed by one Boni, named by the Arabs, The Father of Enchantments and Witchcrafts; the last of the three Books he has written is called The secret of the Divine Attributes; and treats of the Virtue of 90 Names of God. But 'tis fit to mention here, a sort of Cabala in great request with part of those Nations, and like that of the Jews, save that it is not drawn from the Holy writ, for they name it a natural Science, but say, that he must be an Astrologer who presumes to put it in use.

Sect. 15. The same Author adds, That in Great Cairo, and the Towns of Barbary, there is a vast number of People that runs up and down, and pretend to three sorts of Divination; some divine by the black Art with Draughts and Figures, some with a glass Vessel full of Water, into which they power a drop of Oyl, that becomes very thin and clear, wherein they pretend to see Troops of Devils marching in order of Battle, some by Water, and others by Land; as soon as they stop, Querier are put to them, and they answer by signs with the Eyes and Hands. But to that Witchcraft, little Children are required, for the great ones see nothing, whereas the others look into the Oyl, and being asked, whether they see the signs which the Devils make, they answer yes, which gives them great credit, and gets them plenty of Money. The Catoptromancy of the Ancients was something like that, Chap. 3. Sect. 10. That sort of People are called in Mauritania, Moralcimines, that is, Enchanters, because they boast of bewitching the Devils by words. The third sort of those rambling Diviners, are Women, that make People believe, they converse with Devils,
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Some of whom are white, and others red or black. When they are about to Divine, they besmoke themselves with Sulphur and other stinking drugs; after which the Demon, as they say, seizes upon them, and they change their Voice as thô he spake by their Mouth; then the enquirers approach and ask with great humbleness, what they desire, and having received an Answer, go away leaving a present in the Witches House.

Sect. 16. The Bumicils are doubtless great force-cers too, These fight against the Devils, as they say, and go all bruised and cover'd with blows in a great fright; often at Noon day they counterfeit a Skirmish before the People, two or three hours long, with Spears or Zagaies, until they fall down all loaden with blows; but having rested a while, they come to themselves again, and walk. I could not hitherto discover what rule they follow, thô they are held to be Monks. There are others in Barbary maimed exorcists, who boast of expelling Devils, and when they cannot compass their end, they say that the party is credulous; or that it is a Celestial Spirit. These draw Circles, or write some Characters, and make marks on the Hand or Face of the possessed; then they besmoke him with stinking smels, and make their Conjurati^on. They ask the Spirit how he is entered into that body, whence he comes, what he is, how he is call'd, and at last order him to be gone.

Sect. 17. I must yet relate something out of Ricaut concerning the Turbes. There is a sort of Dervis called Mevelevi, who turn with great skill and swiftness at the sound of the Flute, affirming, that it is by devotion and the example of their Patron Mevelava, who always turned in that manner, without taking in any nourishment during a fortnight, whilst his friend Haraze was playing on the instrument; at the end of which, he fell into an extasie, wherein he received from Heaven, the rules of his order, with many wonderful revelations. Now his successors, who are inclin'd to Laziness,
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and yet cannot be quiet, follow his example in this manner. *Some learn Legerdemains to amuse People and apply themselves to Magick and Conjurations, by the help of familiar Spirits.* From this place, in which the Author speaks of his own Head, it appears that he acknowledges some such Spirits, and argues about them according to his Opinion. Afterwards he makes some quotations out of *Busbeek*, that are very pertinent to our subject.

Señ. 18. There is, says he, in Egypt, a Cloyster consecrated to a Saint, called Kederlei; the Dervis that dwell in it, boast that by the Virtue of Kederlei they bewitch Serpents and Vipers, and handle them as boldly as innocent Beasts. Others are not afraid of the stings of Vipers, or Asps, and put them with the Hand into bags, as we do worms, where they keep them. Others enchant Snakes by certain words, and make them stop on a sudden, when they are creeping on the banks of the Nile, some of them pretend that power to be Hereditary in their Family, and to pass from Father to Son; and others boast, that it is a gift of God, in reward of Virtue and Holiness. I have heard some Travellers say, there are Men in Persia and the Indies, whom our People look'd upon as great sorcerers, because they made Serpents dance and stand upright in a box at the sound of their Voice, at the winding of a Pipe, or the playing of some other Musical Instrument. This will be matter of examination hereafter.

Señ. 19. Whatever has been hitherto said of the Mahometans, makes it sufficiently known, that amongst them, as amongst other Nations, their practices are answerable to their Doctrines; for if their Witchcraft and Exorcisms proceed not all from their superstitions, yet they are not inconsistent with them. It is strange, that such as ascribe a Soul and Life to the Celestial Lamps, that acknowledge the Stars

Stars to influence, Human Actions, and search for Myſteries, in numbers, letters and names, ſhould be addicted to Witchcraft and Divinations, and make them part of their religious worſhip ; neither is it ſurpriſing, that not conceiving Angels, as altogether immaterial, they ſhould fancy Apparitions, either waking or dreaming. 'Tis yet leſs ſtrange, looking upon them, as Creatures of a dignity inferior to their's, ſince they eſtabliſh great numbers of them for the guard of each *Muſulman* ; they ſhould invite and call them to their ſervice by Witchcraft, conſiſting in Characters, in which they imagine a ſecret virtue for that purpoſe ; or if they ſhould believe, by the ſame means and Virtue to be able to expel wicked Angels, their mortal Enemies. But 'tis time to come to the Chriſtian World, and to examine in what ſtate things are at home.

CHAP.

C H A P. XV.

That some of the Heathen Opinions upon this subject, have in process of time, crept in amongst the Christians.

Señ. 1. **W**E must not wonder that great part of the Doctrines above mentioned, have not yet been banished by the light of the Gospel. For what Man naturally conceives, is not always darkness, neither is the illumination which the *Holy writ* affords to the understanding, always efficacious; so that a Christian, often better knows what he ought to know, than he does what he ought to do. This plainly appears, in that Man is readier to search after the Truth by his reason, than to put it in practice by his Virtue. The cause of it is, that our natural curiosity that has contributed to the fall of our first Parents, has been since increased and strengthened by the effect of the fall it self; and that it drives us on so much the more to desire to know much, as our understanding is become less capable of true conceptions. But the corruption of Man allows him not to make such Progress. And therefore we must imagine, that whatever is practiced amongst such or such People, especially as to Religion, always and only proceeds from their belief and Doctrine. This will quickly be known to us, if we take the trouble of considering Christianity, such as it formerly was, and still is at this present.

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Sect. 2. I shall name ancient Christianity the six first Centuries before the Pope and *Mahomet* arose: However, I shall not consider it as it was establish'd by our Lord and his Apostles, which will be done more conveniently hereafter, but with relation to the succession of times: In the mean while a careful distinction must be made between the Opinions of the Church, or of the Chief Doctors of her Communion, and the Errors of those she has condemn'd. We must afterwards take notice of what certainty may be had both of the Practices and particular Sense of those that have been branded for Hereticks. For we pretend not to impute to Christians what has been rejected by the generality of them, nor to charge the Hereticks with whatever is said of their Errours. Now, one may, methinks, take for Opinions generally received in the Church, those that have been taught by their Chief Doctors without being contradicted by the others, as far as it appears by any Writing, though they must not for that be taken for Articles of Faith. And likewise, though the Hereticks should have been charged, as to the Doctrine, with some Opinions they owned not, yet 'tis not conceiveable that they should have been falsely accused of Acts of Magick, the possibility of which they did not so much as believe. After that Observation let's see what the most famous Christians of the Primitive times have believed, as to Spirits and their Operations, and at the same time what they relate of other Sects and People.

Sect. 3. Following still the same Order, I shall first speak of the Angels, and then of the Souls separated from their Bodies. I shall pass by the first Century, in which the Apostles lived, because in my second Book I take their Writings for the Rule of Faith, and for the Fountain whence Truth must be drawn. But we must examine those that have followed

lowed them from Age to Age, and see what was their Opinion upon those two Points, without presuming it was grounded upon Rule, or Ecclesiastical Assemblies, which appears not. And though those two Points are of the highest consequence, yet every one had still liberty to express his particular Opinions. However, for other Opinions of less consequence, and I durst almost say of nothing, Men have been dealt with as Hereticks, and the whole Christian World must be call'd together to come to a conclusion. And therefore I shall only make use here of such Explications of the chief Doctors, as I have read my self, which I shall endeavour to translate faithfully, and word for word, as much as possible.

• Sect. 4. We shall first hear in the second Age, *Tatian*, *Clement*, and *Justin*, concerning the Nature of Angels. *Tatian* indeed ascribes not a gross material Being to the Angels, and yet he seems to attribute to them some Corporeal Being. Here are his own Words that seem very strange. *All Demons are so as that indeed they have nothing Carnal, but their Composition is Spiritual, and as a Fire and Light. The Nature of their Bodies can however be penetrated by none but such as are endued with the Spirit of God.* What he adds afterwards is more Consonant to Reason, *That the Demons are not the Souls of Men.* He believes not however that Souls are simple Natures, but that they are composed of parts. *Ἡ ψυχὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολυμέρῃς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἰσομοιρῆς.* because he believes they cannot be conceived as Corporeal, without having a Body, and that the material part cannot rise without the Soul. Several Doctors of that time speak very near the Words, tho' they explain not themselves so openly, so that they must not be look'd upon as very far from that Opinion, as will more plainly appear, when we mention the fall of the Angels.

Sect. 5. *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his 6th Book of *Miscellanies*, shows, that he holds the Angels for the *Inspectors of Men*, and those that inspire *Wisdom* into them, that each *Country*, and perhaps each *Man*, has his own. A little after he says, κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις ἐνέμνυνται τῶν ἀγγέλων αἱ ἐπιστολαί. God has distributed amongst Angels the Inspection and Care of each City and Nation. He says also, καὶ δὲ ἀγγέλων ἡ θεῖα δύναμις παρέχει τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὸ ὀρωμένων, καὶ τε καὶ μή. The Divine Power distributes good by the means of Angels, whether they be visible or invisible. *Justin* favours that supposed visibility of the Angels, or at least he tolerates it, since he asserts in his 4th *Apology*, That God entrusted the Angels with the Conduct of the other human Affairs under the Heavens, some of whom fell off, because of their Conversation with Women, from which issued the Demons δαιμονες, pag. mihi 44. *St. Athanasius*, who was of the same mind, explains those two things more at large in his *Ambassy*. As to the first, he says, That God created the Angels to take care of the Affairs of Men that are under their direction, so that God takes indeed a general view of all things, but as to the particular Inspection, he has left it to the Angels constituted over them. As to the second, he speaks the same Language with the others, that the love of Women made some Angels fall into Apostasie, whence proceeded a sort of Demons.

Sect. 6. *Justin* that enters more into particulars, as to what concerns Demons, declares that he knows none that has that Divine Power of preserving, and rewarding such as obey him; and therefore, that he knows none likewise that has the power to avenge himself upon the Disobedient and Rebels. This he teaches in his 42th *Question*, having said before in the 40th, That a Wicked Spirit that has been once expelled

pell'd cannot torment him any more whom he had before possess'd. In the aforesaid 42th Question, he says, That when a possess'd seems to break his Bands and Fetters, it is the Demon that does it who has that strength himself, but cannot communicate it to the Body of any Man. This is very particular, and it will be fit to call it to mind again in another place, wherefore I desire the Reader to observe and remember it.

Sect. 7. *Irenæus* explains himself but obscurely concerning the State of Souls after this Life, when he says, at the end of his Book, *That they go to an invisible place God has prepared for them.* But *Justin* in his second Apology, pag. mibi 58. explaining himself more at large, goes also more out of the common road; for he affirms, that the Souls of the Dead have some power over the living, saying, *That Men being seized and cast down by the Souls of the deceased, are ordinary call'd possess'd and furious.* It must be observ'd here, that having spoken immediately before of human Souls separated from their Bodies, *Ψυχαι*, though the Latin Interpreter has used two different Words, viz. first *Animæ*, the Souls, and then *Manes*, the Ghosts. Mention is made of the latter in his second Chapter of this Book, S. 14. But in my Opinion, the same word cannot be taken in two different Senses at the end of one period, and the beginning of the following. He must therefore ascribe to the Soul of the deceased, of whom he undoubtedly speaks in his first period, all the Operations upon the living, which the Heathens used to attribute to other Spirits call'd Demons, for he there speaks of the Heathens.

Sect. 8. *Origen*, who lived in the third Age, had strange Notions concerning the Angels; sometimes he gives them a Nature but equal to that of Men: For Writing of the Light, which *St. John* in his first Chap.

Chapter, says to be our Saviour, he seems to believe that it was equally communicated to Man and Angels, as may be seen more at large in his third Volume on *St. John*. But in another place he makes so great a distinction betwixt Angels and Men, that going from the first of Creatures endued with Reason, to the last, he puts the Angels as betwixt God and Men: For he teaches, on *1 Sam.* 28. that the first Creatures are those which the Holy Writ names *Gods*; The second, those that we call'd *Thrones*; and the third, those that bear the name of *Principalities*. Afterwards he calls in Question, Whether Man is the last of rational Creatures, or whether such Creatures as dwell upon Earth, amongst which he ranks all the Demons, or at least part of them, are inferiour to Men? that's his Opinion in his first *Vol.* on *St. John*.

Sect. 9. He again intimates elsewhere, that as Men who have had the fear of God in this life become Angels after their Death, as 'tis read in *St. Matth.* 22. 30. though there it is not properly, *they become Angels, but they shall be like Angels*: So that the present Angels might formerly have been Men: Moreover, he imagines that Angels and Men may dispute which are more perfect, establishing betwixt the Nature of those two Subjects, the same difference which our Saviour puts between the first and the last, *St. Matth.* 19. 30. and *ch. 20.* 16. he ascribes to Angels, not only the *Subregency* of the World, in his tenth Homil. upon *Jeremiah*, and constitutes, as well as other Doctors, Guardian Angels upon that Principle; but he persuades himself that their Virtues and Devotions may increase, as those of Men, proportionably to those of the Persons they keep. Afterwards he destines some to watch over little Children, and others over the Adult, grounding his Opinion upon *St. Matth.* *ch.* 18. 10. where menti-

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on is made of the Angels of little Children that see the face of their Heavenly Father.

Sect. 10. He has this particular Opinion concerning the Stars, that they may have Light and Intelligence, and though he expresses not himself so plainly upon that, yet 'tis a necessary consequence of his Principles, for upon the Words in the *Hebrews*, 2. 9. *That Christ has tasted Death for all*: He says first, that by that all must not simply be understood all Men, but whatever is capable of Reason, *ὑπὲρ πάντος λογικῷ*. and amongst these, *λογικῶν*, Rational Creatures, he reckons the Stars a little after, and upon that foundation he is not afraid of making our Lord, not only the Redeemer of Men, but also of Stars that have likewise sin'd, because 'tis said, *the Stars are not pure in his sight*. *Job* 25. 5. he repeats the same at the end of his 2d Volume upon *St. John*, denying however that their Influences should hurt Men, notwithstanding what is read of Lunaticks, *Matth.* 17. 14, 15. Writing upon *Genesis*, he likewise rejects Astrology, to which he believes that some Angels having forgotten their Duty, have persuaded Men to addict themselves.

Sect. 11. *Tertullian* in his second Book against *Marcion*, says, as to the original of Devils. *He has made the Angels that are Spirits; now, in as much as the Devil was made by God, he is an Angel, and belongs to his Maker; but inasmuch as he has not been made by God, viz. as a Devil, or a Slanderer, it follows, that he has made himself so by forsaking God, and withall deceiving himself.* That Language is somewhat obscure, *Origen* speaks not better; for in his first part upon *St. John*, he seems to recite a Riddle concerning the Dragon, as having been one of the first created by God in a Bodily shape, and before Man. He strains the Words of God to. *Job*, ch. 40. v. 15. for

For he takes them as they are now read in the Greek Bibles, as though there was *this* or *that* Dragon, (whereas the Hebrew Text has *Behemoth*, that signifies a great Beast) Translating the Verse thus, *This is the beginning of what God formed, which he made for a matter of laughter to his Angels.*

SECT. 12. *Tertullian* explains himself more plainly as to the knowledge he ascribes to the Devils, when he in his fifth Book against *Marcion* speaks thus. *Servants cannot know the Resolutions of their Masters, and therefore the Rebellious Angels, and the Devil their leader, can much less know the designs of God, whence I would willingly take occasion to assert, that the greater their Crime has been the more remote they are from the knowledge of their Creator.* So far only he goes, as to the Secrets of God. But as to those of Men, we hear the Doctors of that Age giving to the Demons a power over Bodies and Souls. *St. Cyprian* establishes both, speaking of Idolatry. *Spirits*, (says he) *deceive us; they disturb our Life, and our Sleep, insinuating themselves into our Bodies, raise terrour in our inward Thoughts, bruise our Members, impair our Healths, and cause us Diseases.* *Tertullian* is of the same Opinion in his Book of *Passions*. The Malice of that inveterate Enemy never leaves him quiet, but it encreases his Rage when he sees Man fully deliver'd. In his *Apologetick*, Chap. 20. he gives a more particular explication of what he believes as to the Assaults made by Demons upon Soul and Body. He thinks, That having a very subtil and thin Essence, they are so much the apter to act in an invisible and insensible manner. He shows thereby, that he conceives created Spirits as the thinnest and subtillest of all Bodies, and therefore explains his meaning by this Comparison. As it happens that a flame invisible to us burns Corn, and the Fruits of Trees when they are in flower, or withers them whilst they blossom, or corrupts them when

the Flower falls off, and they are formed ; or as an infected Air communicates it self in a manner unknown to us, so the suggestions of the Devil, by a secret contagion, seduce the depraved understanding of Man.

SECT. 13. Origen believes, that the Souls of Men existed together, before they came to animate the Bodies ; which he establishes upon *St. Matth. Chap. 20.* from *Ver. 1.* to *16.* and in his *6th, Vol.* upon *St. John*, having before propos'd in his *5th, Chap.* the common Opinion of the Christians of his age, he asserts, according to the sense he gives to the Holy Writ, that the *Element* of the Soul must be distinguished from the *Spirit* of Man, and the Spirit of Man from the Holy Ghost. He says, that the Soul may apply her self either to good or evil, but that the Spirit of Man can apply it self only to evil. In his *19th Chapter*, he declares, on occasion of the separation of the Soul at the point of death, that he believes she is taken out of the Body by some Spirits, ordained for that purpose ; and that the Spirits who have that imployment, are of a more noble Nature than the Soul they fetch. He puts a very ingenious sense upon the Words of our Saviour, in *St. Luke, Chap. 10. v. 20.* and *John, Chap. 10. v. 18.*

SECT 14. Tertullian's meaning, as to the state of Souls after this life, to the day of the Resurrection, is, that they are in a certain place, known by the name of *Abraham's Bosom*, and situated betwixt Heaven and Hell, as he writes in his *4th Book, against Marcion*, That there is a certain and determin'd place call'd the Bosom of Abraham. If you ask where that place lyes, and how long the Souls are to stay there ; he will answer, as to the First Question, *Sinum dico Abrahæ, regionem etsi non Cælestem, superiorem tamen Inferis.* I call *Abraham's Bosom* a Region superior to Hell, tho' it properly belongs not to Heaven. As to the other he will say, *Refrigerium*

frigerium præbiturum animabus iustorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine Mercedis expungat. The Latin phrase is somewhat obscure, but it matters not to Translate the words so much as to give the Sense, which is, That it will be a place of refreshment for the Souls of the Just, until the consummation of all things comes and brings on the Resurrection, in which every one shall be obliged to give account, and then receive a full reward.

Sect. 15. He calls in this place, the Subterraneous places, *Inferos, Hell*, because he puts the place of Abode of the Damned, under the Earth, or in a great Gulf, contained in the bottom of the Earth, and believes, that for their punishment they shall go to burn in a material Fire: For about the end of his Book of *Penitency*, he calls Hell *Theſaurum Ignis æterni*; The Treasure of-Eternal Fire. Through the Chimneys of that Fire, come out sometimes frightful flames during Earthquakes: and immediately after, he calls that *Abyss* of Fire, *Magni aliquid & inæſtimabilis foci ſcintillas miſſilia & exercitoria jacula.* The sparks of a prodigious great and unexpressible Fire. St. Cyprian speaks so obscurely about the end of his Letter, against *Demetrian*, upon that subject, that it seems he threatens the Soul with corporeal punishments, it being a consequent of the Series of his Reasoning. Hell, says he, shall Eternally burn for the Damned, and the punishment of a devouring fire, and most glooming flames, will neither supersede nor suspend their Torments; there the Souls with their Bodies, are destined to infinite pains. He seems to mean thereby, that the Souls and Bodies shall have one and the same share; for otherwise, he would have declared, what peculiar sufferings the Soul is to undergo.

Sect. 16. In the 4th, Age, we shall first hear St. *Athanasius* he also believes, that the Angels are

Not all of an equal Dignity, of which he gives a formal explication according to his meaning, on the 31st. *Question to Antiochus*, where having said something as to the Orders of the Angels, he proceeds thus. *Because those Orders are called Legions and Armies, we must thereby understand such Orders as are established to teach, to defend, provide, administer, help, as also such Orders as receive the Souls, and remain by them.* Now, as the difference betwixt the Celestial Orders, is known to us, we must likewise know which is their State, and what Knowledge they have. The Thrones, Cherubims and Seraphims are taught immediately by God himself, as being the nearest to him, and raised above the others: These teach the inferior Orders, and these again, others that are under them. The last of all are the Angels (taking that Name in a particular signification, and determin'd to a certain Order of Spirits, distinguished from all others;) and these are the Teachers of Men. 'Tis easie to perceive that *St. Athanasius* has taken this from the Writings of *Philo* and other *Jews*, as 'tis related above, *Chap. 12. Sect. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.* But whatever it be, *St. Athanasius* being the Author of the Confession of Faith, so much commended in our Churches, and quoted in the 9th Article of the *Low-Dutch Confession of Faith*, as a pattern of Orthodoxy, we cannot but admit what he has written upon the present matter, as the common Opinion approved of, and received by the Principal Doctors of that Age.

Sect. 17. I grant that some very exact Criticks believe not this *work of Questions* to be *Athanasius's*: but there is no less controversie, as to the true Author of the Confession ascribed to that Father. However, both must needs be very Antient, and the former cannot be of much later Date than the age of *Athanasius*; so that the proof drawn from thence,

to show what was the Doctrine of that time, is still of the same force. At least, none doubts but *St. Basil* contemporary with *St. Athanasius*, has written the three First Books against *Eunomius*, and therefore his Testimony will be admitted with less difficulty. After *St. Athanasius*, or some other, whoever he may be, has descended from God through the several degrees of *Angels*, to Men; *St. Basil* comes to teach us how we are to consider the Holy Angels of God in their different Orders and Administrations. He says, at the beginning of his 3 Book against *Eunomius*, That all the Angels have indeed the same name, and are of the same nature; but that some preside over whole Nations, and others take care of every faithful person. Now, as much as a whole Nation is to be preferr'd before a single Man, so much is the Dignity of an Angel committed over a whole Nation, above that of another Another Angel, who has only the keeping of a single person.

Sect. 18. However, *St. Austin*, who writ very near 30 years after *St. Basil*, expresses not himself so freely upon this matter. in his *Manual*, Chap. 58. We cannot, says he, precisely tell what passes amongst those Blessed Societies above, nor what difference there is betwixt persons, &c. And as to the signification of those four words, in which the Apostles seem to comprehend all the Heavenly Societies, saying either Thrones, or Dominions, Principalities or Powers, they shall prove as they can, what they assert; for my part I freely confess I know nothing of it. *St. Jerom* his contemporary; for they both lived betwixt the 4th, and 5th, Century, seems not to be so reserved; but on the contrary, undertakes to prove what *St. Athanasius* and *St. Basil* had asserted, whereas *St. Austin* seems to doubt of the Truth of their Opinions; saying in his *Commentary on the 46th Chapter of Isaiah*. For many passages of the Holy Writ. teach us, that each of us

has his Angel, especially that of Matth. Chap. ver. 10. Take care lest you despise one of these little ones, for their Angels, &c There are therefore in his Opinion, Angels for particular persons. He likewise names in his Commentary on the 47th Chapter, ---Pag. miki 476. Tom. 5. *Angelos præsides Judæorum.* The Angels presiding over the Jews. And upon Daniel, Chap. 7. ver. 2. he saith, I hold the four Winds to be Angelical Powers, to whom the principal Kingdoms have been entrusted, according to what is written, Chap. 32. ver. 8. where instead of these words, the most High established the bounds of Nations, according to the number of the Children of Israel, he reads according to the number of the Angels of God, to ground his Opinion thereupon.

Sect. 19. *St. Austin* seems so modest upon the difference amongst the Angels, is perhaps too reserved in what follows; for immediately after what he says, he speaks of the Stars in too dubious a manner, saying, I see likewise nothing certain upon that point, whether the Sun, Moon, and other Stars must be comprehended in that Society; tho' some hold them to be luminous Bodies without Knowledge and Sense. He seems not inclinable to that last Opinion, but is more apt to believe that the Stars are a kind of Angels, or at least, of living and understanding Creatures, without daring to determine, whether they are part of the four Orders, to which he applies the names contained in *St. Paul's* passage before quoted; whence 'tis easy to infer, that he was taken up with the *Intelligences* of *Aristotle*.

Sect. 20: *St. Jerom* explains himself openly, as to the Ministry of the Angels upon the 9th Chap. of Daniel, *Angelorum duplex officium est aliorum qui justis præmia tribuunt, aliorum qui singulis præsumt Cruciatus.* The Angels discharge 2 sorts of functions, some are established to distribute rewards to the just; and

and others, to inflict punishments on the Damned. It appears by the series of his discourse, and by the passage of the Holy Scripture, at which he aims; that he equally ascribes those 2 things to the good Angels, according to that Opinion, that there happens neither good nor evil without the Ministry of the Angels of God, and consequently he attributes nothing to the Devil.

Se^{ct}. 21. *Lactantius* shows what were the Opinions of his time, concerning the Devil, of whom he makes a very large description, in the 7th Book of his *Institutions*, especially Se^{ct}. 8. which deserves, I should give the short of here. He says, That God produced a Spirit altogether like him that was endued with the Virtues of his Father. He seems, that thereby he should understand our Lord *Jesus Christ*. Afterwards he created another *Alterum*, not *Alium*, that preserved not the perfections of his Celestial Original, because, according to the meaning of *Lactantius*, he envied that first Spirit, who remained faithful and obedient to God his Father: Wherefore the latter bears the name of *Diabolus*, *Criminator*, *Accuser* and *Slanderer*. The Author stops there and speaks no more of it, but Se^{ct}. 14. He says, that God, for that Reason, has granted to the Devil, power over the Earth, *ab initio*, from the beginning; but to prevent the Devil from seducing Men, he sent Angels to defend them, advertising them withal, not to stain themselves by their Conversation with Men, but the Devil seduced the very Angels so far, that they mixt with Women, and were cast down from Heaven to Earth. If it were so, that old proverb would be verified, *That there would be no Devils, if there were no handsome Women*.

Se^{ct}. 22. One thing's especially observable, that *Athanasius* in his *First and Second Book against the Arrians*, is the first Author, as far as we know, that

applies to the fall of the Devil, that passage of *Isaiab.* Ch. 14. v. 12. *How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Morning Star?* which is undoubtedly said of the King of Babilon, because of the great figure he made in the World. Now the Morning Star is called in Greek *Φωσφορος*, and in Latin *Lucifer*, which words are still to be read in the Greek and Hebrew Bibles, whence several that have followed *St. Athanasius* have taken occasion to give the name of *Lucifer* to the Prince of the Devils, which name he still bears. If those who understand not the Latin Tongue, knew that is the name of the Morning Star, they would never bestow it upon *Belial*, since it agrees so well to our Saviour, who calls himself the *bright and Morning Star*, *Revel.* Ch. 22. v. 16. to which *St. Peter* undoubtedly alludes in his *Second Epistle*, Ch. 1. v. 19. Where he says, *That the Morning Star must arise in our Hearts.* And our Lord promises in another sense, to give us *The Morning Star*, *Revel.* 2. 28. So that the name of *Lucifer* is so far from being that of the Prince of the Devils, that it is the most Christian name to be read in the Bible.

Sec. 23. Let's go back to *Lactantius*, he says that Monsters were generated from that odious conjunction of Angels with Women, that are half Angels, or rather, *Half Demons, or half Men*, thence he infers, *Duo genera demonum, unum celeste, alterum terrenum.* That there are 2 sorts of Demons, one of Celestial Demons, and another of Terrestrial; by Celestial, he seems to understand Aerial; but after the word *Terrenum*, there follows immediately, *Hi sunt immundi malorum quæ geruntur auctores, quorum idem diabolus est princeps.* These are unclean Spirits, Authors of all the Evil that happens in the World, the chief of whom is the Devil already mentioned. From this passage may be clearly perceived, that he takes for Demons, those very same Spirits whom the Heathens made their

their Gods, as has been seen Ch. 2. Sect. 9 to 13, which still confirms more and more what I have asserted, Ch. 5. Sect. 4, 5. That the Heathen never adored Demons, but in as much as they believed them to be Gods.

Sect 24. The same Lactantius tells us, that the Demons are indeed Spirits, but *Spiritus tenues & incomprehensibiles, Spirits of a thin subtle matter, and imperceptible.* This we have heard before from Origen and Tertullian. He explains himself very clearly, as to the power he ascribe to their understanding, saying, *That they know many future things, but that it is not possible they should discover the depths of the secrets of God.* We have already heard Tertullian confirming this proposition, by his Reasonings. However Lactantius believes, that Divinations by the Contemplation of the Stars, by the Inspection of the intrals of Beasts, and by the Observation of Birds, of which mention has been made; Ch. 3. Sect. 4, 5, 7. Are Diabolical Inspirations, and therefore holds, that they are still capable of discovering to Men many future things.

Sect. 25. St. Jerom as far as I can conceive, constitutes not the same difference of places betwixt the Spirits. Yet he believes, *Ex Pauli dictis ad Ephe Cap. 2. ver. 2. & 12. colligi Diabolos in aere vagari ac dominari.* That from what S. Paul writes to the Ephesians may be infer'd, That the Devils are wandering in the Air, and signing there. And writing upon the 6th Ch. v. 12. to the Ephesians, he explains more at large, that proposition, as containing the common Opinion of the Christians of that Age. This is the Opinion of all the Doctors, *That the Air which is betwixt the Heavens and the Earth, separating both from what is call'd the Vacuum, is fill'd with powers contrary to each other.* We must yet examine hereafter whence the Principalities, Powers,

Powers, and Dominions of this World, have received their powers? His Opinion upon this last Question is, that they have it from God himself, and that they exercise it more or less, as a less and greater pain is inflicted upon 2 different Criminals, according as 'tis resolved to make their life more or less bitter; he also supposes, that the unclean Spirits, as well as the Holy Angels, are divided into certain Orders; which Opinion of his may be seen in his Commentary on the 3 Ch. of Habakuk, As Christ is the head of the Church, and of every particular faithful Man; so is Belzebub the chief of all the Demons, who exercise so many cruelties in this World; and each Troop of Demons has it's particular Chief, and Captain under him.

SECT. 26. Lactantius must yet inform us what in his Opinion, the Demons were able to Operate, in reference to Men. We see SECT. 14. that his Opinion in general, is, That the Corrupted and Contagious Spirits wander'd through the World, endeavouring to comfort themselves under their loss, by procuring the ruin of Mankind. Immediately after, he explains in particular, how they hurt Soul and Body, They attack, says he, The Souls by their craft devises, and the snares they lay before them; they seize upon them by their delusions, and by leading them astray, they stick to every private person, and are always at his elbow, creeping into every house, from door to door. And in relation to the bodies, as those very Spirits are, according to him partly corporeal, and partly extraordinary subtle, and consequently imperceptible, They insinuate into Human Bodies, without being perceived, act privately within their Bowels, impair their Health, cause Diseases, cast terror into the mind by Dreams, overturn it, make it stray, and force Men by such vexations, to have recourse to them. It seems however, that he intends to ascribe that power to the Devil, only over the Heathens; because he disputes against

against them, and that they were those that had recourse to the Demons, as believing them to be Gods; for over the Christians, the Ancient Fathers attributed not so much power to them.

Sect. 27. We may learn from *St. Athanasius*, what were the Opinions of his time, as to the Souls separated from their Bodies after Death. In the *Book before quoted*, question 32. he asks, *Whether the Souls after their separation, have knowledge of what is done amongst Men, as the Holy Angels have; he answers, Yes at least as to the Souls of the Saints, but not as to those of Sinners; for their continual torments take them so much up, that they have no leisure to think upon any other thing.* The 33th Question is, *What is the employment of the Souls departed from their Bodies, Answer, The Soul separated from the Body, is incapable of doing either good or evil.* However he says a little after, *That the Souls of the Saints, animated by the Holy Ghost, praise God, and bless him in the Land of the Living.* He asserts, Question 35. *That after Death, the Souls never come to bring news of the state of the Deceased; which would give occasion to many cheats, because wicked Spirits might feign, that they are Souls of the Deceased, that come back to discover something to the Living.* I desire the Reader to observe this very attentively, for it will be convenient to reflect upon it hereafter.

Sect. 28. *St. Austin* gives us a more large information, for tho he does not expressly reject Purgatory, yet he confutes it every where, as appears from several places of his Writings, that have been quoted by one of my predecessors, *Andrew Landfman*, in his *Book of the Apostasy of the Church of Rome*: yet this Father in the 69th Chapter of his *Manual*, expresses himself thus, *'Tis not incredible, but something like may happen after this life, and it may reasonably be enquired whether it is so, and what proof may be brought*

brought for or against this Opinion, viz. that some of the faithful, come sooner or later to the Eternal Felicity, passing through a certain purging Fire, in which they stay longer or shorter, as they are more or less enamour'd with corruptible things; however in that number, are not comprehended those of whom 'tis said, that they shall not possess the Kingdom of God, unless by a convenient Repentance, they obtain forgiveness of their Sins.

Sect. 29. We come down to the 5th Age, in which we meet with *Theodore*, who sufficiently explains, as to our design, the Opinions of the Doctors of his time concerning good and bad Angels; for he proposes to us what he thinks of the Angels, properly so call'd, as well in reference to their Nature, as to their Understanding and Administration. As to the first point he holds, that though they are not Corporeal, yet they are Circumscribed, and contained in a certain determinate place; as he asserts in his 3d *Question* upon *Genesis*. The Reason of this Opinion is, that he supposes every Angel has some proper Administration, and is entrusted with the care either of a Nation, or Person; but he makes still a more particular distinction in his 10th *Exposition* upon *Daniel*, putting a Man under the guard of a common Angel, and a whole Nation under that of an Angel of a Superior Order. As to their Understanding, he briefly explains his Mind in these Words. *Let none be surpris'd at what I assert, as to the Ignorance of the Heavenly Spirits; for they neither know future, nor other things, it only belonging to the Divine Nature; but as to Angels, Archangels, and other Caelestial Spirits, they know no more than what they learn; and therefore the Holy Apostle speaking of them in the the third Chapter to the Ephesians, v. 10. says, That to Principalities and Powers, in the Heavenly Places, &c. See his Commentary on the 24th Psalm.*

Sect. 30. Theodoret speaks afterwards of the Demons in the same manner, for he holds them not capable of making true Predictions. He says, upon *Ezekiel*, *Sect. 8.* That the Demons know nothing before it happens, unless it be by guessing, and yet they venture to foretell. He nevertheless owns, in his tenth Book of Oracles, that the Spirits have foretold something true, but by the Stars: For, says he, whatever the Gods of the Heathens say, if it happens that they speak agreeably to the Concatenation of things, they must needs gather that knowledge from the Stars, which undoubtedly was done by such Gods as declared some things that afterwards fell out. 'Tis evident, that by Demons he understands in general, wicked Spirits, who cause themselves to be venerated as Gods, and gave false Oracles to keep up their Authority, and the Credit in which they were amongst the Heathens. That Opinion was the most common amongst the Ancients, and is in being even to this day, as we shall show hereafter.

Sect. 31. The Opinion of that time upon the original of the wicked Race, was, that they issued from the Conversation of the Angels with Women. *Severus Sulpitius* relates it not as a particular Belief, or, as received by some Doctors only; but as a Story credited by all Christians; for at the beginning of his Ecclesiastical History, he presumes to assert it upon the Authority of *Josephus*, as much as if he had been present. His words are; In that time, that is, after the Birth of Noah, Mankind multiplying exceedingly, the Angels whose abode was in Heaven, being enamour'd with the Beauty of young Virgins, plunged themselves in unlawful pleasures, forsook the Supreme Region, whose Inhabitants they were, and ally themselves by Marriages with mortal Women, by that unhappy Cohabitation, and their depraved Morals, they corrupted Mankind by degrees; and from thence the Giants are said

said to be born ; for the mixture of such different natures must needs produce Monsters.

Sect. 32. As to the state of Souls separated from their Body, the Angels, and wicked Spirits, this Age affords nothing but what has been observed, speaking of the foregoing Centuries. Wherefore we descend to Gregory the Great, who in the 7th Century joyn'd his particular Opinions to the former. He was *Bishop of Rome*, and his Memory is still in great Veneration in that Church, tho' he took it very ill that *John the Father, Bishop of Constantinople*, and his Contemporary, should have presumed to take upon him the Name of *Universal Bishop*, to which he believed not that any Bishop had a right, and even held it for a Mark of *Antichrist*. Besides, 'tis not without Reason, that the *Roman Church* makes so much of him : For he has taken care to provide her with many Legends so suitable to her Humour and Palate, and upon which she has put so great a value, that she multiplies them every year. And indeed, *St. Gregory* was not contented with the Fables of *Origen*, and other Doctors, of which mention has been made, but he admitted whatever had been proposed hitherto as Doubts and Questions, which he pass'd into Determinations and Decrees : And, as tho' what had been maintained before had not been sufficient, he thought fit to add something of his own : So that since his time there were not only 9 Orders of Angels, but they knew also the Degrees of each, viz. *Angels, Archangels, Virtue, Powers, Principalities, Dominions, Thrones, Cherubims, and Seraphims* ; as is to be found in his 34th Homily upon the Gospels. The Schoolmen that have followed him fail not to take much pains to treat of each of these Angelical orders, and to break their head with them, in which I intend not to imitate them.

Seet. 33. It must be observed that at that time the curiosity to know whither Souls went after Death, gave occasion by degrees to invent Purgatory; the discovery of which has been so far finished amongst the Papists, that they go now thither by thousands. *Boetius, a Roman Consul*, who lived about 63 years before the Pontificate of Gregory, begun, in his 4th Book, *Prosa 4.* to give some Notion of that place, by the Answer he makes to the following Question. *Does there in your Opinion remain no punishment for the Soul after her separation from the Body?* To which he Answers: Yes doubtless, and even 'tis not a slight Pain; for I hold; that some Souls are very severely punished, whereas others are purified by Grace. As to Gregory himself, who from a Souldier became Pope, he blows heat and cold from the same Mouth, with as much sickliness and levity as the Wind, against the Custom of the Popes, who use to decide so positively and boldly. Upon the 7th Chapter of *Job*, giving advice to a Sinner, he saith, *That there is no human Eye (that is no Grace of the Redeemer) that casts looks upon the Soul, after she has laid off the Flesh.* And farther he adds; *That when Holy or wicked Spirit receives at the point of Death, a Soul departing from her bodily Prison, she remains for ever, and without hopes of any Change, in the hands of him that has taken her; so that when she's once raised to Glory, she can never fall again into Pain and Torments; whereas when she is once cast down into the Eternal Abyss, she can never come out of it:* Upon the 10th Chapter he says again; *He that is Condemned and deliver'd to punishment by reason of his Sins, and brought to the place of Execution, has no longer hopes of Mercy or Forgiveness.* But this Pope does not always maintain this Thesis; for he speaks thus in the 4th Book of his *Dialogues*, Chap. 39. *Sed jamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse Purgatorius Ignis cre-*

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credendus est : However it must be believed that there is a Purging Fire for some small Faults. Upon the Penitential Psalms, he explains himself more at large. Post mortem carnis alii eternis deputantur suppliciis, alii ad vitam per ignem transeunt Purgationis. After the death of the Body, some are condemned to endless Torments, and others go to Life through a purging Fire.

C H A P. XVI.

That some of the first Christians derided the Conjurations of Spirits, and others credited and practised them.

Sect. 1. **W**E are now to examine, whether the practice of Divination and Witchcraft were in request in the first time of the *Christian Church*. Both were equally rejected by those that were called *Catholicks* and *Orthodox* : but we must enquire upon what ground ; for it was not so much because they believed 'em to be deceiving Arts, the practice of which was impossible, as that they judge 'em unlawful. Besides, they acknowledged so far the efficacy of Conjurations that they did not at most reject 'em, but came in process of time to admit them in the Ceremony of *Baptism*, which are, still call'd *Exorcisms*, generally us'd amongst the *Papists*, and not entirely abolished amongst some *Protestants*. Tho' this be not the place to treat at large of this matter, yet it may be premised, that this is their most ancient Original, as the

Writings

Writings of some of their Doctors plainly testify. But let us hear first, how the Laws of the First Christians thunder'd against those that durst meddle with *Exorcisms* and *Conjurations*.

Señ. 2. Here is the Proclamation of the Emperor *Constantine*, in the 9th Book of the Code, Tit. 8. Book 5. *De Divinatoribus*. Let no body presume to interrogate Diviners, or to consult Mathematicians and Astrologers. Silence is also enjoy'd to Augurers, and Fortune-tellers, Caldees, Magicians, and those that are called Sorcerers, because of the bairousness of their crime, shall not be allowed to undertake or exercise their Art. The curiosity of those that consult Oracles, shall be repressed. If any obey not our Orders, he shall be punished by the Steel, till he be dead, Given at Milan, January 25. 337. Here is another Proclamation of the Emperors *Valentinianus*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*. If any be found guilty of Magick, he shall be arrested and deliver'd to Justice, as an enemy of Mankind, &c. Given at Rome, Aug. 17. 389. The rest may be seen in those Laws, and is sufficiently known to *Civilians*. *Constantine*, in the beginning of his Reign in 312. had ordained the pain of Fire for such as should be convicted of that Crime, and promised a Reward to the Informers, Law the 3d. Tit. 8. *de Maleficiis comprehendendis & ad publicum pertrahendis*.

Señ. 3. In the mean while, those pains were not inflicted upon that sort of people so much, because, of their Cheats, as has been already said; as especially, by reason of their Crimes, and the hurt they were believed to procure to Men and Beasts, by mixing and perturbing the Elements by their *Witchcraft*, which made them worthy of the most cruel punishments. This plainly appears by the 6th Law made by *Constantine* and *Julian*. Anno 357. There are several who are not afraid of confounding the
Elements

Elements by Witchcraft, and assaulting the Life of Man, who cannot defend himself against them; of conjuring up Ghosts and asking their advice, to destroy their Enemies by wicked ways, Whence it appears, a double Power was attributed to Sorcerers and Inchanters; First, of confounding the Elements and Secondly, of Conjuring up Ghosts, making them appear, and discoursing with them. It was therefore believed, that the Crime of that People consisted in their converse with the Spirits, whose Power and malice they made use of to torment other Men. So that 'tis no doubt but that Opinion was then general among the Christians, and even amongst the Mob of the Heathens; or at least of the greatest part amongst them, who lived and conversed with the Christians, so that either of them addicting themselves to that Converse, whether they were perswaded of the Power of Spirits or not, made themselves equally guilty, and obnoxious to the severity of the Law.

Sect. 4. The chief Doctors of that time teach us the same, but I shall quote only a few that will afford us sufficient proofs. I shall begin with Justin Martyr, who lived in the 2d. Age, and shows in his 2d, Apology, that he acknowledged the efficacy and virtue of the Heathen Witchcraft. In the new Edition of Cologne Pag. 65. The Predictions themselves that are made by the means of the dead, by young innocent Children that see Objects in a mirror; by the calling up of the Souls of the deceased, and by those that are call'd by the Magicians, Expounders of Dreams Paredri Assessores, Assessors. In short, whatever is operated by those that are skilful in those practices, must perswade you; says he to the Heathens, that the Souls have still some Sense after death. What he writes in his Dialogue against Tripbo the Jew, differs not much from that First passage, ib. Pag. 311. That

' That the Demons may be overcome by Conjurations, in the name of *Jesus Christ*, but that no Jew can do the same in the name of any King, Prophet or Patriarch; not even perhaps in the name of the God of *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*. He nevertheless believes, that the Demons, by means of that sort of Diviners, that were called *Ventriloqui*, gave real Oracles to those that Conjur'd them, as may be gather'd from his 33th *Question*, and from the Answer to it.

Sett. 5. Proceeding farther, whatever is needful for our design, is to learn the Sentiments of the Fathers, as to the power and efficacy of the Conjurations, that were practis'd, both by the Heathens and Christians. *St. Cyprian*, in the 3^d. Century, sufficiently Declares, that in the Christian Religion Baptism has power, by the Blessing of *Christ*, to expel wicked Spirits, which gives occasion to believe, that they were possess'd of Men, before their being cast out by that Holy Sacrament. And indeed he writes in his 7th. Letter of the 1st Book, That as *Pharaoh*, after much resistance, was at last drowned in the water; so the Devil is yet now a-days abused and tormented by the Exorcists, whose voice is indeed only human, but attended by the Virtue of God. For a little farther he says, when by the Saving water we receive the Sanctification of Baptism, we may be sure that the power of the Devil is overcome, and the person consecrated to God, freed by his mercy. It happens at the same time, according to him, that Scorpions and Serpents cannot abide water, so the infernal Dragon cannot endure the Water of Baptism.

Sett. 6. He ascribes the same Virtue to the name of *Jesus*, when in his Sermon upon Baptism, speaks of mercenary Exorcists, *de questuariis exorcistis Obediunt Demones Exorcistis*, &c. 'The Demons

' *Demons* obey *Exorcists*, saying, we know who is ' *Christ*, and who is *Paul*, and being conjured in ' the name of that *Jesw*, whom *Paul* Preaches, we withdraw. It seems to *St. Cyprian*, that things ought to be so by the same reason that Baptism was valid, whether administred by *Paul* or *Judas*: But he ought to have considered, that we have not the same certainty that these *Exorcists* should have received their Office from God, as we are sure that he had established *Judas* in his Apostleship.

Se^ct. 7. *Lactantius*, in the 4th Century, will yet give us some instructions. And First, as to Conjurations, that we treat now of, he believed that they have a great efficacy ; for he writes in his Second Book, Se^ct. 15. *That the Devils are afraid of the Just that worship God, since being conjured by them in his Name, they go out of Bodies, and being compell'd by their words, as by stripes, they not only acknowledg'd that they are Demons, but also declare their Names, that are found to be the same, under which they are adored in Temples, So that he believes that the wicked Spirit, how great a Lye soever he is, cannot lye, when by Conjunction he is forced to speak, because the Divine Power constrains him to say the Truth for that time.*

Se^ct. 8. In the mean while he sticks not to that, but agrees with *St. Cyprian*, that the modern force-rers were able to enchant wicked Spirits, and by that argument, pretends to prove to *Epicure* and his followers, that there are Spirits in the World, and that Human Souls are immortal. To that end, he expresses himself in these words, *Book the 7th, Se^ct. 13. Certainly if Democritus, Epicure, or Dicearchus, stood by a Magician, they should not make bold to maintain by their Reasons, that the Soul is Mortal; what could they answer? If the Magician by pronouncing some Verses, call'd up the Souls from subterraneous places*
making

making them appear to Men, speak to them, and foretel future things; for if they still presume to persist in their error, they would be forced to yield to such real proofs, and such visible effects.

Se^{ct}. 9. However, I cannot agree to what is read in his 2 Book, Se^{ct}. 14. That the Art and Power of Magicians, Magorum, only consists in the Inspirations they receive from the Spirits, that surprize Men, and deceive their Eyes by Illusions, hindering them from seeing what is, and making them see what is not, when 'tis required from them by Magicians. He seem'd before to believe, that the Demons actually produce some effects, and here he will perswade us, that there is nothing but illusion: whatever it be, even that very illusion is still an Operation of the Demons, and consequently approve of their existence and action. In the mean while he agrees with himself in this, that he believes sorcerers converse with the wicked Spirit, and that the Conjurations of the former, force the latter to say and do what is required from them; but that all the effects of Witchcraft are to be ascribed to them, and not to the Magician.

Se^{ct}. 10. Lactantius was perswaded that bad Spirits had a share in all those Arts, that made up the practices of the Ancient Heathens, and of which mention has been made, Ch. 3. He even believed that they were all invented by those Spirits, as appears by his own words, Book 2. Ch. 16. The things that they have invented, viz. The Demons, are predictions, by the Stars, by the inspection of Victims, and by the cry of Birds; these are the Oracles and Enchantments in use, to consult the Dead, by Magick, Magic and all the other Evils to which Men addict themselves, either privately or openly. All these things have nothing solid nor true in themselves, but are received for such, by the credit they borrow from the presence of their authors,
who

who know how to impose upon the credulity of Men, affecting to make a divine power appear before them, of which however, no profit accrues to them. I might quote here some Authors of the two following Centuries, but observing no change in them that deserves to be related, and fearing to insist too long upon this: I come to the bottom of the matter, lest I should weary the Reader with unprofitable troubles.

C H A P. XVII.

That it is necessary to compare all those various Doctrines and Practices of the Jews, Mahometans, and Christians; and to examine wherein they differ, and in what they agree together.

SECT. 1. **T**HE 11th Chapter of this Book was designed to compare together, the Opinions and practices of the various Heathens, concerning Spirits. The natural light that remained in our understanding, notwithstanding the darkness in which it has been involv'd by Sin, has been able, without the help of the *Holy writ*, to discover, whether those Opinion and practices, were founded upon true, or false grounds. We have since heard, those that acknowledge the Authority of the *Holy writ*, speak very differently, by which means, the light of Reason may be encreased, and it's corruption better'd. Let us now see what they have done as to this, and how far their endeavours have attained. To that end, we shall *First* consider, wherein the latter differ from the Heathens, what they have retain'd of *Paganism*; and lastly in what points they differ from each other; having always regard

regard to that difference of Doctrines, and Worship, or Opinions and Practices, that have been set down before.

Sect. 2. These 3 sorts of People; *Jews, Christians,* and *Mahometans*, rejecting the plurality of Gods that were believed and adored by the Heathens, and Worshipping one *Only God*, have overthrown whatever the others had invented, concerning confederate, inferior, and mean Gods, or familiar Spirits, that were born with Men and outlive them; and at the same time, have destroyed whatever Conjurations and Witchcrafts were grounded upon such principles, by which Men presume to acquire some certain knowledge, and produce some certain effects. We have found nothing like, amongst the *Jews* and *Mahometans*; for tho' they may have something that appears like it, yet 'tis quite different, as we shall show hereafter. And as to the *Christians*, we see that they unanimously reject all these things, and look upon them as delusions and impieties; and as to what the last, together with the *Jews* and *Mahometans*, have retained of the Opinions and practices of the Heathens, it has been taken from the Philosophy of this last *Sect*, and accommodated to the *Holy Scripture*, or gather'd from it by false explications. This I shall now briefly show, concerning the Spirits in general, and the Soul of Man in particular.

Sect. 3. As to the Spirits in general. *First*, That Opinion, that they are partly corporeal, received of old by the *Jews*, *Ch. 12. Sect. 5, 11, 10 15* By the *Mahometans*, *Ch. 14. Sect. 4, 5.* and by the *Christians*, *Ch. 15. Sect. 5, 14. 15, 23, 24, 31.* draws it's Original from the Philosophy of the Heathens, as has been shown, *Ch. 2. Sect. 14, 16. Ch. 11, Sect. 6.*

Second. The Opinion that ascribes some life and understanding to the stars, as to the Sun and Moon;
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whether it be insignificantly express'd, as among the *Jews*, *Ch. 12. Sect. 3, 13.* or only darkly as amongst the *Mahometans*; or proposed as a doubt, as it has been by *Origen* and *St. Austin*, amongst the *Christians*, *Ch. 15. Sect. 11, 19.* That Opinion, I say looks very Heathenish, and differs not much from the *Intelligencies* of *Aristotle*, *Ch. 2, Sect. 5.* Nor from the esteem which the modern Heathens have for those celestial Lamps, of which mention has been made, *Ch. 6. Sect. 2. Ch. 11. Sect. 2.*

Sect. 4. We may also easily compare their belief touching Human Souls.

First, The Opinion of the transmigration of Souls, so common amongst the Heathens, *Ch. 2. Sect. 17.* is not rejected by the *Jews*, but converted into that of the revolution of the Souls, *Ch. 12. Sect. 19.* It is publicly taught by some *Mahometans*, *Ch. 14. Sect. 12.* As to the *Christians*, 'tis true, that they admit it not, tho' something like it be found in *Origen*, *Ch. 15. Sect. 13.* But I must say by the way, that I see not how those that still hold, that all Human Souls were created together in the beginning, and afterwards each in his time, introduced into their bodies, could solidly confute that Opinion of the *Metempsychosis*.

Second. The *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Christians*, too easily credit the apparitions of Souls, which takes place amongst the *Jews*, because they suppose the Souls to wander for a Year, about the bodies from which they are separated, *Ch. 12. Sect. 20.* Neither can the *Mahometans* reject that Opinion, since they hold the Souls to be made up of the *Elements*, *Ch. 14. Sect. 13.* and that after their separation from the body, they see and hear in *Trees*, *Sect. 14.* As to the *Christians*, we find *Justin*, one of the First, who says, that a separated Soul may yet operate upon living persons, *Sect. 5.* All the Opinions that are related here, are drawn from Philosophy, or mixed with Paganism,

Paganism. But the *Holy Writ*, either taken in its true Sense, or mis-interpreted, has given occasion to the following, which we shall mention hereafter.

First, The opinion that the Angels have been created from *Fire, Air*, or the most subtile Elements, which the *Jews* only hint. *Chap. 12. Sect. 15.* but what the *Mahometans* publickly teach, *Chap 14, Sect. 4.* has likewise been received by some *Christians*, *Chap. 15. Sect. 4, 5, 24.* because they thought it consonant to what is said, *Psal. 104. ver. 4.* That God makes Spirits his Angels, and flames of fire his Ministers, *2 Kings 2. 11.* that *Elijah* was taken up into Heaven in a Chariot with fiery horses, *Chap. 6. 17.* That they defended *Elisha*, and that *Ezekiel*, *Chap. 1. 4, 5.* saw the likeness of four Animals going out of the midst of fire; several other misunderstood passages have contributed to the establishing of that Opinion.

Second. The Morning Stars rejoycing together when God created the World, *Job 38. 7.* gave occasion to *Philo*, as has been observed, *Chap. 12. Sect. 4.* to confirm himself in that Opinion, that the Stars are *Understanding Beings*; as has been likewise proved as to many other Authors.

Sect. 6. It likewise appears, that those that believe Spirits to be corporeal, ground their Opinion upon the Holy Scripture.

First, for having no *Idea* of other Sons of God, that fell in love with the Daughters of Men, as is mention'd *Gen. 6.* but of such as are distinguished and separated from Men: And conceiving not the true nature of Spiritual Beings, they fancied that the Angels had begotten those *Giants*, of whom 'tis spoken in that place; add to this, that they could not think that those *Nephilim* (which word we Translate *Gyants*) should be other Creatures, be-

fides fall'n Angels, who for that reason are called by that Name, which signifies as much as *Rebels*. We have seen that Opinion received by the *Jews*, Chap. 12. Sect. 14. By the *Mahometans*, Chap. 14. Sect. 5. and even by some *Christians*, Chap. 15. Sect. 3, 31.

Second. I grant that it may be inferr'd from thence, that there are *Incubi* and *Succubi*, that is *Devils*, who now in the shape of *Males*, then of *Females*, lye with Men and Women; that Opinion of the *Jews* is still now a days much disperfed among the *Christians*, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Sect. 7. Such are their Sentiments, as to the nature and fall of the *Angels*; but as to their distinction into several Orders, and the share they bear in the Government of the World, the same differences, or very near, are ascribed to them that are attributed to the *Heathen Gods* and *Spirits*. Chap. 11. Sect. 6. And that Opinion is strengthened by a misunderstanding of the *Holy Scripture*.

First. The *Jews* explain themselves clearly and largely upon the different Orders of *Angels*. Chap. 12. Sect. 4, 7, 11. The *Mahometans* treat of it more confusedly and obscurely Chap. 14. Sect. 16, 17, 18, 25, 32. but the *Christians* speak of it, as tho' it could not be doubted but the *Holy Writ* understands such a *Hierarchy* of *Angels*, by the different names it gives them.

Second. As the *Heathens* fill'd the Air with *Spirits*, or placed them above, under, and in the middle of the World, Chap. 2. Sect. 6. Chap. 7. Sect. 2, 5, 8. So have the *Jews*, according to *Philo*, Chap. 12. Sect. 3, 12. Neither do the *Christians* disagree from them. Chap. 14. Sect. 25. Supposing that Opinion to be confirmed in the *Scripture*, *Ephes.* Chap. 2. 2. Chap. 6. 12. and by several passages in the *History* of *Job*.

Third,

Third. They agree together again, in that they acknowledge as many *Guardian Angels* of Men and Nations, as the Heathens did their *Titular Gods*. The Opinion of the *Jews*, as to this point, may be in some manner perceived by the quotations that are set down *Chap. 12. Sect. 4. 10.* That of the *Mahometans*, is more clearly express'd, *Chap. 14. Sect. 9.* But that of the *Christians* still plainer. *Chap. 15. Sect. 6, 17, 18, 29.* to which they have applyed the passages of the *Holy Writ* already mention'd.

Sect. 8. It goes, even so, with their belief of the Devils; First, we hear the *Jews*, *Chap. 12. Sect. 13, 16.* The *Mahometans*, *Chap. 14. Sect. 5.* and the *Christians*, *Chap. 15. Sect. 21, 31.* All speaking in a manner the same Language, as to their Original and Fall. The last commonly quote the Scripture, *Genes. 3. 6.* and *Isai. 14. 12.* to maintain their Opinions, but they quote it, no less adorned with their foolish fancies, upon the Nature and Creation of Spirits, than the others do by their fabulous Tales.

Second. The Opinion of the *Jews* concerning the malice of the Devils, their Virtue and Power to hurt, partly appears, *Chap. 12. Sect. 12, 15, 18, 20.* And that of the *Mahometans* seems to be almost the same. As to the Thoughts of the *Ancient Christians*, they are explained more at large, *Chap. 15. Sect. 7, 12, 23, 26.* In the mean while I find not that they have asserted any thing contrary to the Opinion of the others.

Sect. 9. It is convenient to say also something of Purgatory, the spring of a vast number of Apparitions and Witchcrafts.

1. Whether the *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and ancient *Christians* speak clearly upon that subject, or obscurely and doubtful; yet they all agree in establishing a purging Fire, or some such other Pain to be endured. Such are the Pains which the *Devils of Torments* inflict upon the *Jews* at the time of *Giugul*, or the *Revolution of Souls*, Chap. 12. Sect. 20. The *Mahometans* are not remote from that Opinion, Ch. 14. S. 11. but the *Christians*, Ch. 15. Sect. 27, 28, 34. or at least, part of them, have blown up that Fire from under the Ashes, though the others, whose number is far greater, have not the least inclination to credit it.

2. However, those that are not altogether remote from them, reject not wholly the Apparitions of the Souls separated from their Bodies, nor their various Operations, to which *Justin* and *Irenæus* have traced out the way for them, as we have seen, Ch. 15. S. 7.

Sect. 10. But neither the *Jews* nor the *Mahometans*, carry Exorcisms and Conjurations to so great a height as the *Christians*; in the mean while they all agree in this.

1. That they are powerful upon the Spirits, by the means of Names, Words, and Signs, that they have so much virtue as to force them to answer, to cast them out, or to turn them off. The Practices of the *Jews*, Ch. 13. Sect. 6. 11. Those of the *Mahometans*, Ch. 14. Sect. 14, 18. and the Declaration of the *Christian Writers*, Ch. 16. Sect. 5. 10. make it sufficiently evident that their Opinions are not much different as to this Point, though the last bring not them into Practice.

2. The Reader shall not find in my Quotations a very particular explication of *Magick*, properly so call'd, which, as 'tis supposed, causes so many disturbances to Men upon Earth; unless it be this, that since on the one side, the evils produced by those

those wicked Spirits are granted, and on the other their obedience to Exorcists; it is easie to infer, that all the damage that *Magicians* cause by the help of the *Devil*, must likewise be ascribed to them.

SECT. 11. When we compare all these things together, we see the *Heathens* and *Jews* delivering their Opinions, as from hand to hand, to the *Mahometans* and *Christians*; so that we easily perceive that both *Jews* and *Christians*, have by degrees, and insensibly, received the Opinions of the *Heathens*, by whom they were surrounded, amongst whom they were mixed, and from whom the *Christians* are descended: And that the last have also borrowed much from the *Jews*, who have delivered to them the Sacred Writings, with most of their particular Interpretations, that have been greedily swallow'd down, and since increased to a great excess. As to the *Mahometans*, whose Law is a mixture of *Heathen*, *Jewish*, and *Christian* Doctrines, and more composed of what is evil in them all than of what is good; and therefore stored with more Errors than Truth; It is not strange they should have so much agreement with those of the Nations we speak of. We may observe hereafter how all these Opinions have insensibly been cherished and increased by *Poetry*, and have issued not only for the same Spring, but also from another, whence *Mahomet* has drawn something for the making up of his *System*. But as I have ended the 11th Chapter of this Book with the Opinion of the *Epicures*, I think it convenient to make a particular Chapter of those of the *Manichees*.

C H A P. XVIII.

That the Doctrines ascribed to the Manichees, are a mixture of all the preceeding, and the original of the Opinions most common at this day.

S. 1. **I**F it were absolutely requisite to know the Opinions of the ancient Hereticks, at least of those that are call'd so, we would be at the same Pains as those that endeavour to discover them: For their own Books that were then condemned, being lost, 'tis not reasonable blindly to believe whatever their Adversaries say of them, whose Zeal for the Truth was often mixed with human Passions: So that they may sometimes impute to their Antagonists Opinions that were not so bad as they gave out, either misunderstanding or wresting them. Perhaps St. *Austin* has increased the number of Heresies to a hundred, for fear he should diminish that of seventy which *Epiphanius* had before established in his *Preface*, and 57th Chapter of the *Heresies*. For if *Celsus* could mark, in the most remote Antiquity, and from the first times that we have any knowledge of Books, but 100 principal Doctors of Heathenism, each of whom made not a particular Sect, but only followed the footsteps of his Predecessors; how can it be imagin'd that Christianity, that has the Word of God for it's Rule, should have been in much less time more divided than Paganism, that was founded on such weak and uncertain Grounds.

Sect. 2. St. *Austin* it seems should be chiefly consulted, as to the Doctrine of the *Manichees*, since he himself had been infected with their poison, and has particularly treated of that matter in his 46 Ch. of the *Heresies*; however, I shall do it with great caution, by the Reasons just now alledged: besides that these words of his Preface, *Ad quod vult Deum*, made him extreamly suspected; for he says, that in his little Book of *Heresies*, he shows a way, *Vnde possit omnis heresis, & quæ nota est, & quæ ignota vitari.* To avoid all *Heresies*, whether known or unknown. For how can one provide himself against what is unknown, and consequently signifies nothing? nay, I may boldly say, that what is unknown cannot be called *Heresy*, since whatever deserves that name, must be known; or perhaps St. *Austin's* meaning must be understood in this sense; that discovering the nature and Genius of such *Heresies*, as are already known, he has furnished us with light, and weapons against those that are yet unknown, but may become manifest hereafter. However this being not the place to insist longer upon this Reasoning, we shall return to our subject. The same Father in his Book against the *Manichees*, imputes to them some things, *Quantumlibet negent ad se pertinere. Tho' they deny them ever so much.* But as he treats not distinctly enough of all their Opinions, especially those that belong to our design, I shall rather follow *Daugus*, who has gathered the chief points of their belief, as well out of the Book of St. *Austin* before quoted, and the rest of his works, as out of many other Authors, from whom I shall only relate what may be subservient to our subject.

Sect. 3. As to God and the Spirits, they are said,
First. To have established two principles, contrary to each other, one of which was good, and the Author and Original of all good; and the other
I 5 bad,

bad, the Author of all Evil, and the Prince of darkness. That the first as they say, is the God that has formed all things, and that the other is Hyle, that is the matter from which all things have been formed, and which is esteem'd by them to be the Devil. Some distinguish the Devil from the Prince of darkness, and translate not as we do the last words of the 44th v. of the 8th Ch. of St. John. He is the Father of lies; but his Father is a lie, namely the Father of the Devil.

Second. As to the good God, they say, that his Essence is dispersed as by portions, through all the Creatures, and inherent to them, which they explain by many wonderful Commentaries. This is what they think of God and the Devil, in relation to their Essence and Existence, what follows concerns their Operations.

Sect. 4. Third. The People of darkness formerly war'd with the People of light. The good God went himself to attack the Prince of darkness, by some certain principal Spirits, which he had produced of his own Essence, who however, being too weak, were taken Prisoners; but Christ came to repair that disorder, having been begotten by some certain first Man, who had been the promoter of this War, and had begun it.

Fourth. That in the mean while, Christ himself is the Serpent that seduced Adam and Eve.

Fifth. That Christ is now fixed amongst the Stars, especially in the luminous Globe of the Sun, in which sense they explain his Ascension to Heaven.

Sect. 5. Sixth. They believe the Metempsychosis in this manner; That the Souls shall pass into the bodies of such a kind of living Creatures, as they have most loved or abused, during their Life. He that has killed a mouse or a fly, shall pass in punishment, into the body of a mouse or a fly, the state in which he shall be put after death, shall likewise be opposed to that, in which he was during his Life. He that is rich shall be poor, and he that is poor shall be rich.

Seventh,

Seventh. They also give two Souls to every Man, one of which, is always contrary to the other. But enough of their Doctrines, we leave the rest to *Danæus*, who ascribes to them 21 in all, because what he and other Authors say, belongs not to our subject.

Sect. 6. However I am not apt to assert, that they have believed and taught such gross Doctrines, as are imputed to them, and have been now related. For supposing the common Opinion, concerning the Doctrine of the *Manichees*, that they were chiefly extracted from the Philosophy of the *Persians*, (since *Manes*, their First Author, was undoubtedly a *Persian*;) and that they are strangely mingled with the *Christian Divinity*; It is unreasonable to have the same Opinion of that People, that we have of other Nations, who never cultivated the study of Nature and Human learning; such as those we have met with in the Northern parts of *Africa*, and the Southern of *America*. It may well be, that the *Manichees* ascribe to the whole *Universe*, a principle like that which is observed in it's parts, *viz.* The active cause, and the matter, which *Aristotle* established to be eternal as well as the World; and that afterwards, matter considered as insensible by a misinterpretation of the words of *Moses*, that spreads in the beginning, darkness over the Abyss, and the Spirit of God moving over it, should have produced those monstrous thoughts, of which we have given some instances.

Sect. 7. Supposing they have established two principal causes, one of good and the other of evil; but yet, so as that the First is uncontestably superior to the Second, as much as light is above darkness, and the workman above the matter he works upon; 'tis probable, that they had an *Idea* of God, as a Soul infused through the whole *Universe*, that consider'd by them as the body, in which that First cause

cause continually operates. And as the contrary motions of corporeal passions rise against the Empire of Reason that ought to govern them, so they might believe, that the *Animal Spirits* proceeding from matter, perpetually rebel against God, the *Fountain of all Reason*. Whence it would follow, that God should not be more absolute master of the *Universe*, than Man is of his body; thence has proceeded that *Idea* of two different Gods, one good, and the other bad; the latter being still inferior to the former, who is indeed the workman, but has not an arbitrary Government, there being a power in the World, so great, that it is able to resist him.

SECT. 8. But whether I have made a just conjecture, or whether the *Manichees* had other Opinions, then those I imagine; it seems nevertheless, that I may reasonable suppose it, upon this foundation, that no Opinions so gross as those that are ascribed to them; not only are not admitted, but not so much as moved or propounded, as we shall see very soon in the series of this work; because the principal points of those sorts of belief with their dependencies, have a great relation with my Second and Third Book, as I hope to show at the end of the Second. And therefore whether any one treats of the Devil and Spirits according to the *Holy Scripture*; or whether he only follows his own sense and right, it may be assured, that all his Reasonings will turn upon this notion of his; that God and the Devil have each an Empire, one contrary to the other, and that tho' the Devil be subject to the power of God; yet his Empire is more apparent. It is denied, that God now works any miracles, but some are rashly ascribed to the Devil, that surpass all those that are mention'd in the *Holy writ*. We believe that there are Angels, and gather from the *Holy Scripture*, that they encamp about the faithful, and the

the Devil likewise is incessantly active to do them hurt, if possible he can, but his abode is in Hell. However it is very rare to hear any one say, he has seen an Angel in a vision, whereas the Devil appears almost continually. If any thing has been either signified or foretold, we never believe it to be the Operation of an Angel, but of the Devil : one is possess'd by him, and another bewitch'd ; by his means, unknown Tongues are spoken, strange things are said, others no less wonderful are perform'd, and the most hidden secrets discover'd. But you will scarce meet with any that has so good Opinion of the power of an Angel ; if we have any Holy thought, or good inspiration, how inconsiderable soever it may be , we ascribe it to the Holy Ghost, and seem not to believe, that the Angels are so much as capable of contributing to it ; since it ne'er comes in our mind to think upon them. But the Devil penetrates the most secret thoughts of Men, overthrows their best designs, and incessantly excites them to Evil, if they are accused and convicted of any crime, the excuse is always at hand, for the Devil has done it, or at least has tempted them so to do.

Sect. 9. And therefore since neither the Ancient Heathens nor the moderns ; neither the Jews, the Mahometans, nor the First Christians, ever entertained any such Opinions ; and that 'tis manifest, they have a greater relation with those of *Mahes*, I cannot but believe that this Doctrine which begun to spring up in the *Third Century*, was immediately oppos'd on all sides by Orthodox Doctors, but yet spread very far into *Asia*, whence it having pass'd into *Europe*, it has maintained it self there longer then 'tis believed. This will not appear strange, if we make a serious reflection upon this, that Men writing against errors, often aim at nothing

thing else, but their own reputation and the glory of having confuted them, whilst they themselves cherish those errors, and keep them in their bosom, so that when they come to examine themselves they find at bottom, that they agree with those, whose evil Doctrines they fancy as heartily to detest, as they appear outwardly incensed against them.

C H A P. XIX.

That the Opinions and practices already mentioned, have been most or all introduced in Popery, which has added to them new inventions of Men.

Sect. 1. **T**IS now time to approach nearer our Age, and First to consider the Papists, and then our selves; for we now know, that the chief points of the doctrines to be examined, have Anciently made part of the religion of the Heathens, Jews, and Mahometans, and even have been admitted by the First Christians, whose purity is so much commended. Afterwards, it was easy to observe in the last Chapter where we spake of the Manichees, that great part of the Doctrines ascribed to them, have insensibly been introduced into the Christianity of latter Ages. But Popery was not satisfied with this, and has invented many new ones, to which Gregory the great, that would seem to oppose *Antichristianity*, with which he supposed the East to be infected, has traced out a plain way. For having himself usurped a great Authority over the Churches of the West, it was no hard matter for him, to let his own imaginations and vain institutions be received, and to transmit them to his successors. Since
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that time it became usual in most Churches, to believe whatever *Rome* taught, and to do whatever she wrote them by way of command; at last she changed that custom into a right to her, and an obligation upon the other; neither Scripture nor right Reason were consulted, when the determinations and Authority of the *Roman Bishop*, upon Articles of Faith, were only allowed. Those determinations were substituted instead of Reason; and when they needed writings to maintain them, those of the First Doctors of the Church were ready at hand, which gave too fair a pretence of crediting whatever had been invented; for how strange soever those new Doctrines appeared, yet they were easily swallow'd down, provided they were contain'd either in the writings of those Doctors, or in others that were spurious and forged at pleasure, and falsely ascribed to them, if they were but declared authentick by the *See of Rome*. It happened with this matter as with all others, in which some change in the Worship and Doctrine, has insensibly been made, or something new introduced, which continued in the Church till the beginning of the latter Age, when part of the West was reformed, and re-established in it's first state.

Sett. 2. We must now consider two things, *viz.* how far Popery has brought, in process of time, it's unlawful Opinions; and then how far proceeded the rejection made by those that reformed themselves as to the Doctrine and Worship. For this reason, I shall speak in this Chapter of what the Papists believed upon the subject I treat of, and shall relate their Worship and practices in the following Chapter. I intend not to gather those Opinions from the decrees of the *Popes*, nor the Canons of their *Councils* and *Synods*, as I have not done it, in what I have related concerning other Religions; but I shall collect

lect them from the writings of their principal Authors and Doctors, and from sentiments clearly expressing them, few of which were ever contradicted or confuted by any private person. So that whatever I shall alledge, being generally received for Articles of Faith, by those of that Communion; they will have no reason to complain of, or exclaim against this method, since in the following Chapter, I shall show, that those manifold Opinions ascribed to them, are confirmed by the proof of a general practice. But if I was to read over all their Authors to extract their Opinions, it would prove too long and tedious a task; and therefore I shall only follow one of their writers, who is fallen into my hands by chance, because he has read all the others, and extracted from them whatever is subservient to our subject, having put it in order, without omitting any thing, as tho he had done it on purpose: since therefore, not only he is not of our Communion, but a *Papist*, and a *Jesuit* too, I think the choice I have made, will not be blamed. This Author is *Gaspar Schottus*, who is sufficiently known by the learned writings he has published of late, and which he is not afraid to expose to our censure, since in 1662, he dedicated his *Physica curiosa*, to the *Electeur Palatine, Charles Lewis* of glorious memory, who was of our Communion: this Book and another entituled, *Magia Universalis*, or *Universal Magick*, of which he is likewise the Author I design to make use of, laying aside all the others that I had collected, and partly read for that purpose, for the glory of being an insatiable reader is not what I aim at.

SECT. 3. Following the same order, I have before established, and which is almost agreeable to that of *Schottus*. I shall first relate the Opinions of the Doctors of the Church of *Rome*, concerning *Angels* and

and Devils, and afterwards touching human Souls, either in this Life or after Death. However, I undertake not to make an abstract of whatever they say, but only to illustrate the matter in hand, in order to prove what I have asserted. To that end I distinguish again the Angels into good and bad, to examine what concerns either of those two sorts. But first I shall speak in general of their *Original, Number, Nature, Equalities, and Power*. As to their *Original*: Upon the Question, of what Nature Spirits are, I shall reject the Opinion commonly received by several Christian Doctors; That Spirits are in some sort Corporeal, because the Council of *Lateran, cap. firmiter*, seems to establish, that they are altogether immaterial; but all agree in this, that they have been created by God, and constituted in a state of *Grace, Physic. Cur. Book 1. Pag. 7*. Though this last expression be somewhat different from that of our Churches; yet I will not insist upon it; but in the following proposition I shall observe what I intend afterwards to make subservient to my design.

Sect. 5. Thomas Aquinas makes the Angels innumerable. Others, following some ancient Fathers, establish 99 to one Man. Our *Schottus* makes their number amount to 1000, 000, 000, 000, a *Thousand Thousand Millions*, more of whom are good than bad, though he undertakes not to determine the number of each, *pag. 9, 10*. This vast number of Angels, as well bad as good, are divided by way of degrees into some certain orders, which are explained in particular, somewhat further in that same Book.

Sect. 6. As to the power ascribed to good and bad Angels; 1. They can neither penetrate the secret thoughts of one another, nor those of Men; yet they can much better pierce into futurities than Men can do by the help of natural Causes, and know
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for instance, whether the year shall be fruitful, whether it will freeze very hard, whether it will Rain or blow, *pag.* 12, 13, 14.

2. 'Tis observable, that he ascribes to them the faculty of moving from one place to another, tho' it be not done in an instant, and that of extending and contracting themselves locally, *pag.* 17. 18.

3. He admits the Opinion of *Ignatius Erkennests*, that it is not necessary an Angel should have a Body to move another Body, *pag.* 20. &c.

4. That nevertheless neither Angel nor Devil can act upon each other, unless they meet both in the same place, *pag.* 21.

5. It is the common Opinion, that a Spirit may assume a Body in such a manner as outwardly to be seen in a Bodily shape, by a Person whose Eyes are conveniently disposed, without being perceiv'd by another near him, tho' his Eyes be as fit for it as those of the former, *pag.* 24.

6. 'Tis likewise the common Opinion, that each Person has his particular *Angel and Devil*, *p.* 37, 38.

Sect. 7. As to the Holy Angels in particular, the Opinion of *Lombard* concerning their Orders and different Ministries, has been always much credited among the *Papists*; They believe that he speaks according to the *Scripture*, when he constitutes *nine Orders* of them. *Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Dominions, Thrones, Cherubims, and Seraphims.* *Lombard* asserts, that *Dionysius the Areopagite* has distinguished them so, but I have shewed before, *Chap.* 15. *Sect.* 3. that it is *Pope Gregory*, who has established that number, tho' not altogether in the same Order. These *nine Orders* have been since divided into three times three, the three superior Orders are the *Seraphims, Cherubims, and Thrones*, and so forth, ascending again, and reckoning all nine. *Lombard* explains this thought more

at large, saying, That as the Martyrs are one Order, and the Apostles another, and yet one Apostle is above another, as one Martyr above another, he reasonably believe the same to be with the Angels.

SECT. 8. As to the wicked Spirits in particular, 'tis believed,

1. That they have not all been precipitated into Hell, immediately after their Fall; but that part of them remained rambling without, and sometime return upon Earth, or abide in the Air, p. 26, 27.

2. That there are six different places where the Devils commonly dwell, and whence they effect their Malice and Power, and therefore are called in relation to those places. 1. *Ignean*, or *Superaereal Devils*. 2. *Aereal Devils*. 3. *Terrestrial*. 4. *Aquatick*. 5. *Subterraneous*. 6. *Those that hate the Light*. The Abbot Trithemius, Delrio, and Agrippa, are quoted by our Author on that account, pag. 28. 31.

3. They are as well as the Angels divided into several Orders: But the Papists agree not together upon this matter; neither our Author, nor Agrippa, who has treated at large of this matter, agree together, nor with others; but after all, I relate here what is most generally received; to which I add, that the Opinion of Thyleus, who divides the Devils into three Spiritual Dominions, and nine Quires, is not rejected, pag. 36, 37.

SECT. 9. Their Power and Effects have always been much exalted amongst the Papists; They hold for certain, that the wicked Spirits can do great wonders, either by their Knowledge or Power. *Mira hoc loco vocamus*, (says Schottus) *quorum causas etiam sapientes ignorant, & digna admiratione censent, sive de cetero natura facultates transcendunt, sive non*. I give here the name of wonders to those Effects, the causes of which even the Wise are ignorant of, and judge them worthy Admiration, whether or no they surpass the forces of Nature, pag. 39, 40. 'Tis therefore his Opinion,

nion, *That the Devils can produce Effects that are above the power of Nature*: For though he declares afterwards, *That they produce, but apparently and not really, some Effects that are peculiar to God only*; yet he believes that frequently they really operate others, which indeed are not proper to God, but which neither Men nor the ordinary course of Nature are capable of effecting without the assistance of those Spirits. To prove this *Thesis*, he quotes many Popish Authors, and shows that they are all of the same Opinion. In the mean while he distinguishes what the Devils are able to effect of themselves, from what they cannot do, but by the means of Magicians and Witches, *Pag. 40. to 50.*

Seft. 10. The Consequence he draws from what has been said, is, *That the Devils operate some things by motion, others by the active virtue of Natural Causes, and others by Illusion.*

1. They alledge 15 sorts of their Operations by their Motion from one place to another; of which the five first consist in real Operations, and the nine last, in meer Representations. Those of the first Classis, are, *First*, They cause Fire to descend from Heaven, as 'tis related in the first Chapter of *Job*. *Second*. According to the same History, they may raise Storms and Tempests. *Third*. They may likewise cause Rain, bring fair weather, make Winds blow upon the Sea, stop the course of Vessels, and overturn them. *Fourth*. They may produce Earthquakes. *Fifth*. They may transport through the Air, or in some other manner, the Bodies of Men, and all other sorts of Bodies.

Seft. 11. Our Author afterward relates what they operate by motions of meer Representation to the internal and external Senses;

1. They render visible things invisible, by suddenly snatching them from the sight of Men.

2. They

2. They make Statues, and other inanimate Objects move and walk.

They make them speak.

4. They make appear Man and Beast in their dead Bodies, as tho' they were alive.

5. They take upon them Aereal Bodies, and by that means produce several Effects.

6. They represent the Figure of all sorts of matter, either Gold, Silver, precious Stones, or others.

7. They direct in such a manner the *Animal Spirits* of Men, that they make appear to them, past, present and future things in their own shape, and perswade them that they see, hear, and do things that are not real.

8. They cause pineings and violent Diseases in human Bodies.

9. By Dreams they present to People, such objects as are absent and remote, and forewarn them of future things.

10. They produce in Men the passions of Love, Hatred, Anger and Fury, from *Pa.* 51. to 54.

Sec. 12. The 2d sort of Diabolical Operations is no less credited; it consisting in the active virtue of Natural things; and therefore 'tis believed, that by the power of the Devil, whether he acts immediately, and by himself, or by Wizards and Witches; Herbs, Fruits, Waters, and most other matters may be mixed in some sort and degree, and with the proportions requisite for it, whereby Food, Drink, Physick, or some other potion may be made up, that shall cause a great deal of hurt to Man and Beast. 'Tis also believed that all these things may be done by natural ways, but that they are more easily, readily, and efficaciously performed by the power and craft of the Devil, without being perceived by the most skilful Men, who can never do the like, *Pag.* 55.

Señ. 13. As to the illusions, they must be understood in this Sense, that the Devils indeed do some thing, but not whatever they seem to operate. For 'tis not doubted but the Devil can do whatever is possible to be done by natural means and which may happen in process of time, by the ordinary course of nature, without the cooperation of that wicked Spirit, as we shall say anon, but he has this power by God's permission, to imploy all the forces of nature, for the producing of what effect he desires; whence often proceeds, that Men either by ignorance, or because some extraordinary objects and events come before them, believe things that are not in being, or persuade themselves, that the Devil performs some certain effects that are not natural, In the mean while it remains constant and undoubted, that the Devil has power to do whatever has been already mentioned, as also whatever I am going to say.

Señ. 14. I mean to speak of illusions, which *Schottus* together with *Delrio* and *Molina* declares to be of Three sorts; those that are made by the change of the objects, those that are made by the change of the Air, and those that happen by the change of the Organs of the senses.

First, Illusions are made by the change of the Object, when one thing is substituted instead of another, that has been suddenly and imperceptibly snatched away; or when an object is presented to the Eyes, in such a state and manner as that, it produces a false vision; or when any object made up of Air, or of some other Element, offers it self to the sight; or lastly when there appears any thing composed of different matters, mingled together; so skilfully prepared, that what existed before, receives thereby another form and figure.

Second,

Second. The change of the Air is made by these ways, when the Devil hinders, lest the object should pass through the Air, and hit our Eyes; when he disposes the Air that is betwixt the object and the Eye in such a manner, that the object appears in another figure then really it is, when he thickens the Air to make the object appear greater then it is, and to hinder it from being seen in other places, but the place he designs; when he moves the Air in the place through which the object is to hit the Eye, that the object going through that part of the Air, may also be moved, and that it's figure may be presented to the Eye, otherwise then it is; and lastly, when he mingles and confounds together several different figures, in order that in one only object, there may appear many together, pag. 55.

Third. The Organs of the Senses are changed, when they are either transfer'd from their places and alter'd; when their humours and active particles are corrupted or thickned, or when such a shining brightness passes before the Eyes, that they are dazled, so that it seems, that a Man raves waking, p. 55, 56.

Seet. 15. As a consequence of all these things, 'tis held as an undoubted truth, that the Devil can perform miraculous effects upon all sorts of creatures, especially upon Men, viz.

First, That he can give life to Dead insects, and make them perfect Animals, which however is against the meaning of *Schottus*, p. 129.

Second, And consequently, that he can produce and make appear true Frogs and Serpents as was done in *Egypt* in the time *Moses*, p. 57, 58. 59.

Third. That he may discover and bring to Men, hidden treasures, and even if occasion serves, make Money, p. 116, however *Schottus* says with reason, that

that he is so ill natur'd, as seldom to do, as to this, all that is in his power.

Señ. 16. Concerning Man in particular, 'tis believed, that unclean Spirits can Copulate in the shape of Men with Women, and in the shape of Women with Men, so that as from that communication Children may be begotten, *pag. 61. to 67.*

2. That the Devil, as by a kind of Transmutation, may change Women into the likeness of Men, and Men into that of Women, *pag. 113.*

3. That he transforms Men into the figure of Wolves, Cats, and other Beasts, *pag. 94.*

4. That he may strengthen the memory of Man, and enlighten his understanding, *pag. 114.*

5. That he may restore Youth to old Men, and repair their Faces.

6. That he may possess himself of the Body and Senses of a Man, and make him as Extatick.

7. That he may plunge Men into a deep Sleep, and make them capable of Fasting whole years, *pag. 104, 107.*

8. That he may render Men invulnerable.

9. That he may cause all sorts of Diseases to Man, as also rid him of them, *p. 102.*

Señ. 17. I have kept the chief Article for the end; that is, That the Devil carries over by night, through Windows and Chimnies, Magicians, Sorcerers, and Witches, to the *Sabbat*, or their *Assembling Place*; though after all, many Popish Writers deny it. But since it is the common Opinion, on which the very Judges of Sorcerers partly lay the foundation of their Sentences, I intend not to put it on the reckoning of the Papists in general, though our Author takes it upon his own, *pag. 67. and 80.* For I will not wrong the Papists so much, as to call it their own Sentiment, since there are Men amongst us that have the same Opinion, as we shall hereafter :

Yet

Yet there is one that is particular to them, of which I have been informed of late by People that have lived amongst them, and have seen a very frequent practice of it, I mean the *Monitores*. When any one has sustained a loss, or when 'tis desired to discover an important Affair, or even a Trifle, a *Monitory* is obtained from the Bishop; which is an act wherein the thing or the fact enquired after is specified. This Monitory is published at the end of Parochial Masses, before all the People, and fastned to the Doors of Churches, and at the corners of Streets, and after the expired time, and necessary publications, they come to the ceremony of thundering it out. After which it is certain, that three parts of the People believe and are firmly persuaded, that those who knew any thing of the matter, and have not gone in time to reveal it to the Rector, or other Priest commission'd by the Bishop, never fail to fall into the possession of the Devil, to whom the *Monitory* delivers them, after it's being thunder'd out, and that the Devil transforms them most, or all the Nights, into Dogs, Cats, Wolves, Goats, and other Animals, which is called to whurry as a Wolf. If one meet in the night some Wild-Beast or a Domestick straying, he fancies to have met the Wolf-man, and is ready to swear it. Some of the most thinking and less superstitious part, at least believe, that the Excommunication contained in those *Monitories*, cuts off from the Communion of their Church, and delivers to the Demons those that have not submitted to it, by revealing such things, as 'tis often very convenient and useful to conceal.

Seet. 18. As all these things are said in general concerning the power of wicked Spirits; so certain places are assigned to them, where they usually produce their Effects: The common Opinion

is, that there are familiar Spirits, Domestick, and Mountainous Devils.

1. *The familiar Spirits, Spiritus Familiares, are those who always keep by a Man, even when he calls not for them, whether they do it of their own accord, or that they have been hired very cheap for that purpose. They serve him faithfully, at least outwardly, whether or no he calls for them. They suffer themselves to be shut up in Rings, Christs, Chests, and the like, and to be carried away whithersoever one pleases; These are the very words of Schottus, pag. 134. Those Demons in Glass or Rings are according to the common Opinion, shut in or fastned to them with some certain ceremonies used in that case; and not by the virtue of any Conjurations or Exorcisms, nor by the power of him that carries them, as 'tis believed by some; but they undergo this willingly, or by the absolute order of the Prince of the Devils, whom they blindly obey; or lastly, to deceive Men more easily. When they are in those sorts of Prisons, and have been carried through several places, questions are put to them, and sometimes they are forced to speak. Then they discover to Men hidden Things, and foretell those that are to come. It is believed, that in our days a great and victorious Prince carried one of these Spirits with him in his Ring, and that he lost his sight in a Battle, a little after the Stone that was in the Ring was broken into two pieces, pag. 143.*

Scct. 19. Schottus and Devio relate out of Meletius, what is ordinarily said concerning Domestick Devils. They withdraw into the most hidden places of the house, upon piles of Wood, where they are kept with the most delicious Meat, because they carry to their Masters Corn that they have stolen from other People's Barns. When those Spirits intend to settle in any House, they make it known by leaping up sticks of Wood, or throw-

ing Dung into Pails of Milk. If the Master of the House, taking notice of it, lets alone those Stricks and the Dung in the Milk, or even if he drinks of the Milk into which the Dung has been thrown, the Spirit appears to him, and lives with him. Those sorts of Spirits are called by the French *Gobelins*, by the Dutch *Guldalkens*, and *Kabautermannekens*, and by the English *Hobgoblins*. They appear in the shape of Men and Women, as little as Dwarfs, or such as Pigmies were formerly imagin'd to be. *Schottus*, says, That it was usual in former times to see many of those Spirits in Houses, where they did whatever was necessary. They dressed Horses, they swept the House, carried Wood and Water, and did all sorts of Service, pag. 145. he did well by saying 'twas formerly done, lest he should be put to a proof in this curious Age.

SECT. 20. He has taken from *Georgius Agricola*, the description he makes of Moutanous Devils, saying, That they dwell in the Mines under the Mountains; that they are cruel and frightful; that they make uneasie, and perpetually vex those that work in the Mines: Some call them the little Hillanders, because they ordinarily appear little, scarce three foot high, with an old wrinckled Face, and in the same shape with the Miners, clothed with a Wastecoat and Apron. Nevertheless, he says, that they are not so wicked as they love to play Tricks, and to be merrily Roguish, especially when they will persuade that they do the greatest part of the work in the Mines. When all's done, his Opinion comes at last to this, that there are two sorts of that kind of Spirits, some are good and the other bad; The latter are feared and detested by the Workmen, whereas they look with pleasure upon the former, believing them to be of good Augury. But *Schottus* being willing to grant that they are of a mean Order betwixt Men and Spirits, holds them for bad Spirits, what good

soever they may do, believing that when it happens so they are forced to it by God, or that they do it Craftily, to delude Men, *Pag.* 114. and 149.

SECT. 21. There is still more illusions made in relation to the shapes the Devils take on, than in the other occasions above-mention'd. I will not now speak of whole Armies that are believed frequently to appear in order of Battle, of which *Schottus* treats at large in the addition to his second Book, p. 336. but of those that are called *Hobgoblins* and *Fairies*. Formally our People speak almost of nothing else. *Schottus* writes thereupon, p. 339. *Delrio* says, That there is a sort of Spectres that appear as Women all in white, in Woods and Meadows; Some are seen in Stables with Wax-Candles lighted, some drops of which they let fall upon the Mains of Horses, combing and twisting them very neatly; those white Women are also call'd *Sybils*, and 'tis said, that one of 'em nam'd *Haband*, is as the Queen of the others, and commands them. People believe their Apparitions to be of good Omen; but the Doctors look on such presages as old Womens Tales, acknowledging in the mean while, that the thing is true, or at least possible: And *Schottus* relating, p. 215. what *Cornelius* of *Kempen* says, assures us, that in the time of the Emperor *Lotarius*, that is about 830. several of those Fairies were to be found in *Friseland*, where they dwelt in Grotes, or on the tops of Hills and Mountains, whence they descended at night, to carry away Shepherds from their Flocks, Children from their Cradles, and slip both into their Caverns.

C H A P. XX.

What is the Doctrine of Popery concerning Apparitions of Spirits, and how they torment Men, either by themselves, or by the Ministry of other Men.

Sect. 1. **I**N speaking of this last kind of Demons we are descended by degrees, even to Specters and Phantasms. But First, we have observed that there were yet two things to treat of, touching Spirits, that is, their Apparitions to Men, and their Operations in the same. It is upon this subject of Apparitions, that there is room to speak of Phantasms; which, according to the opinion of the Papists, are good and bad Angels, or Souls of the deceased, which become visible, or which are understood without being seen; either that they speak intelligibly, or that they make only some sound and noise. There is yet this difference in their Apparitions, that there are some Souls, which whether they manifest themselves visibly, or whether they are only heard, work some effects, whereas there are others, that operate nothing. *Schottus* freely teaches us many things, which relates to them, that is, *First*, in what places Specters chiefly used to appear; *Secondly*, what Specters and Phantasms are; *Thirdly* what they act; *Fourthly*, to whom they particularly appear; *Fifthly*, what means there are to avoid them, and be rid of them.

Sect. 2. Those places where Phantoms appear, *Schottus* persuades himself, that there is no place in

the World but that may happen. However, that there are some, where it happens more frequently than elsewhere. As,

1. In Desarts, and in solitary places, he grounds his opinion upon Scripture, *Isai.* 33. 14. *Apoc.* 18.

2. *Tob.* 8. 3. And confirms it by the consideration of that which hapned to our Saviour Jesus Christ himself, *St. Matthew*, Chap. 4. *St. Luke*, Chap. 4. It is for this reason that the good *St. Anthony* was so hardly dealt with in the Desert, by all sorts of Hobgoblins and Spirits, *Pag.* 226.

2. If one were in the humor also, to believe a sort of Water Demons, our Author would very often make them appear in Ponds and Marshes, *Pag.* 227.

3. If the Pagans have had, since a long time, Gods of the Groves, the *Christians* will not deny but that there are such, for they say that there are particular Phantoms in Woods and Meadows, *Pag.* 229.

4. When they are to fight any bloody Battle, or after it has been fought, many Specters have often been seen in the field of Battle, *Pag.* 230.

5. Phantasms often appear in Baths and Stoves, *Pag.* 231.

6. Which happens also in Fortresses and Castles, *Pag.* 234.

7. In Mines and Caverns, as it has been said before concerning Mountain Gods. *Pag.* 235.

8. There are seen more Apparitions in places where Murderers and Thieves haunt, than in other places. *Pag.* 235.

9. Holy Cloysters, Churches, and Temples of God's Worship, are not also exempted. *Pag.* 237. As for me, I am very much perswaded that there is no place in the World, where there are more Delusions and Apparitions made, or rather, deceitful Visions, than in those places

10. So it is no marvel, that the same happens to every particular person in his House. Pag. 238.

Sect. 3. If one asks, what it is that appears, or What these Fantomes are, you will not fail to be immediately satisfied. Sometimes they are good Angels but most frequently evil Spirits, Souls of the deceased. However, in this occasion there is said touching Angels very little, and that very uncertain; *fortassis etiam Angeli boni; sometin's perhaps good Angels*, says Schotus. Pag. 247. But concerning Demons he affirms very neatly, and with a great assurance, that they are not all alike wicked. Because Phantasms are distinguished in *mites & terribles seu truculentos*; in good and cruel: that which is found explained in the same place by these words taken out of Cassien, touching some unpure Spirits, as are ordinarily called Faunos, Faunes, Kabautermannakens, or Hobgoblins; it is notorious that they delude Men, as by way of sport and pastime, so that in certain places they post themselves ordinarily in the way, and take them up, however, without tormenting the passengers; they are contented to laugh at them, and make raillery, and play them some pleasant pranks. And they seem rather to have a design to tire them, than to give them any displeasure. But it is also known, there are others so evil and so cruel, that it does not satisfy them to torment People, and cruelly to tear them where they come, (this ought to be understood of the possessed) But they will attack those who pass by, altho' at the same time they are a great way off, and horribly treat them. See one that says he knows them very well himself, and further, that no body is ignorant of it, he relies upon his own perswasion, and does applaud himself for it. Would it not be more mischievous than the Will with a wisp himself, that sets upon passengers to suspect and confute his belief? However, he is but a little while to be quiet, for we

cannot avoid troubling him, and shewing his Error.

Fourth. The Souls of the deceased are either saved or damned, it is held for certain, that those that are happy, are often seen to appear to holy Men for their good, and that they appear still. The Legends contain an infinite number of examples, which have been compiled from all sorts of Histories, even of those which are the least worthy of credit, and that are enriched with a great many new ornaments that have been lent them in compiling of the work. But there are none which appear so worthy of remark as these apparitions of Souls, which happen in consequence of Covenants, that have been made betwixt Holy People in their life time, that is, when two or more have mutually promised, that who should die first, should appear to the other, and come and tell him news of the estate he was in, whether in Purgatory or in Heaven. The Author makes no doubt, but the thing happens as it is agreed; but he dares not decide, whether such an agreement be lawful, in which case he believes, it must be made by a particular inspiration from God, *P. 333.*

Sect. 5. There is no more doubt of the apparitions of Souls that are damned, and they are grounded upon proofs of the same certainty, as the former. *Schottus* reports an example drawn from *Bencius* and *Delrio*, which appears so strong and convincing, that he expresses himself thus at the end. *It is a story which is confirmed by the belief generally given to it, it is publickly in all places, by many Books, and by a great number of letters, and the thing has happened in the time and place mentioned. - It is a Question to know, if any thing may not be false or mixed with any falsity, because it has been published a long time without being contradicted, either in word or writing?*

writing ? but it would be too long to treat upon this Question here, it will be proper in another place. However, if this History be true, it might confirm the sentiments of the Papists, which say, That the Souls of the damned appear here upon Earth to the living, to present to them, in a frightful manner, the torments they suffer in Hell, to the end, they may bring them by that, to repent and leave off Sinning.

SECT. 6. Our Jesuit is too wise to speak much himself of Purgatory, he leaves that to others ; he held nevertheless with those of his Faith, *That the Souls of the deceased desire often of the living, the help of their Prayers and good works, and that by consequence, the Souls in whatsoever place they may be, expect those that are entred into Heaven, or into Hell, appear to Men, p. 253.* We see that he will not much trouble us with Purgatory, and instead of perplexing himself with a determin'd place, he chooses rather to be at large, in placing Souls in *loco dispensationis*, in a place of dispensation ; such as the Schoolmen have forged it, whose Opinion, some of ours find not condemnable, in what place soever those Souls may be, the Papists believe certainly, that they appear often to Men, to the ends that have been mentioned. It is also the common Opinion, that the greatest part of the Souls, are not those that are in Paradise or in Hell ; but those that dwell between those two places, or in Purgatory ; for frequent journeys from Heaven to Earth would too much disturb the repose of the Souls, that are there ; and Hell keep its Captives too closely confin'd, to give them so much liberty ; and if it be permitted me to divert the publick, I shall say, it would bring no profit to the Churches Coffers, whose fire of Purgatory makes the pot boyl much better, then all the flames of Hell do, or all the heat of the Celestial fire.

Sect. 7. If one would know what all those fætomms do in the World, *Schottus* will not fail to inform you, and even to mark with a great deal of care and exactness, many different manners, in which they shew themselves *p. 269, &c.*

First. They appear to the sight under divers figures, as well of Men, as of Beasts, or frightful Monsters.

Second. The Ears are often struck without seeing any thing, and even sometimes in such an extraordinary manner, that it causes astonishment and fear: *p. 271.*

Third. The touch has it's share in it, if what the Author says be true, That they move them sometimes to touch Men without doing them any harm, but at other times, they push them so, that they drive them with violence, they make them fall down, bruise them and beat them, that they even trouble them, and tempt them to Letchery. *p. 273.*

Sect. 8. It is likewise necessary to know that which is written Concerning the figure of bodies, in which Phantasms appear, he says, *p. 287.* That the Abbot Trithemeus, Thyreus, Delrius, and others, (whence it apperrs, that it is the common Opinion,) relate, Certain signs, by which one may know, if whether Spirits who present themselves in a corporeal form, are Angels or Men, good Angels or Devils; Souls of the blessed or damned; or Souls which are in Purgatory to be purified there. However, he affords not a very ample instruction upon this point, for the chief matter that he says of it, is, That the Souls of the blessed appear with an Air of content and joy; that the Souls which are in Purgatory have a more doleful countenance; but that those of the damned, have a more frightful aspect with signs of despair. And tho' it be the common Opinion, that there are always some defects, or something disfigured in the body,

dy, in which the Devil presents himself; notwithstanding, neither our Jesuit, nor *Delvius*, holds it for certain; see that which the first puts for certain, and as generally believed, p. 291. It is that when the Devil appears and speaks, he always speaks the language of the Country where he is, so that he must understand more languages than *Mithridates*; or every Devil can appear but in his proper Country. But the voice of a Specter is always perplex'd, trembling, weak, and as muttering, as thô it were understood through a Tub, or through the chest of an Earthen Vessel, for says Schottus, *The Devil can speak no better*. See according to this Author, and those of his belief, a good mark to know him.

Sect. 9. We must not omit that which is given out as a thing certain, that a Phantasm feels always cold when one touches it, *Cardan* & *Alexander ab Alexandro*, are witnesses, that affirm it, and *Cajetan* gives a reason, that he has learned from the Devil's own mouth, who being asked by a Witch concerning this subject, answer'd, that the thing must needs be so, and that it could not be otherwise; the Cardinal explained the words of the Devil in this sense, that he will not communicate to a body he takes, that moderate heat which is so agreeable, or that God will not permit him. The Witch was contented with that positive answer, without putting the Question further.

Sect. 10. The Question now is to know, who they are which ofteneest see Specters? our Author answers pertinently to this Question, p. 292 and 293. And his words deserve very well to be reported, as they are. *The Souls which are in Purgatory, appear rather to the Faithful then to the Excommunicated, or to Infidels; and among these first, they appear rather to their Parents, to their At-*
lies,

lies, and to those which belong to them, in any manner whatsoever, then they do to Strangers, because that they hope for succor from them, which they cannot hope from others. The Souls of the damned appear particularly to those which have been the cause of their loss, and of the torments they suffer. The apparitions of Devils are made also with reference to the ruins of those they persecute, and their ill will for Mankind, whom they take pleasure to torment. On the first respect, those who are charged with a greater number of Sins have most to suffer, in the second, the most VirtuouMen are the more exposed to their attacks.

Seet. 11. After the Specters, let us come to the possessest, refering the remedies against these two accidents, to the following Chapter. That which happens to the possesst, gives occasion to know more particularly what the Devil can act, *Possessing*, says Schostus, *is an inevitable torment to Man from the Devil, which is in his body, who acts there, and keeps him in his power for a certain time.* p. 521. Which he unfolds more particularly afterwards, but as there has been lately published, an History of the Devils of London, and of a possession very famous, said to have happened in the Town, the circumstances of which, give a great deal of light upon this point, we will alledge that which will be proper for this subject, referring a more strict examination to our 4th Book, which we shall not be afraid to do, notwithstanding the Author appears to be a Protestant, because that the most part of the stories this History contains, are gathered from many Ecclesiastick Books, where they are grounded upon Authentrick publick acts; and that the possession was declared true by a decree of the Bishop. It was also confirm'd by the blood of a Priest, who was executed for a Magician, after having been condemn'd by an act made by a sentence of Judges Commissioner sent by the French King

King, to examine this affair, see then yet what *Schottus* says. p. 533. &c.

First. That a Man may be posselt by all sorts of evil Spirits, of what order soever they may be, for it has been said in the 19th Ch. *Sect.* 8. That the Devils are divided into different orders, and the History of the Devils of *Loudum*, shews us, that one *Elizabeth Blanchard*, said to be posselt by six Devils; by *Astaroth* and the coal of uncleanness, by the order of Angels; by *Belzebub* and the Lion of Hell, of the order of Archangels; by *Peron* and *Marou*, of the order of Cherubins. p. 255.

Second. That all persons of what Sex, Age, Condition, or Religion soever they may be, whatsoever kind of life they lead, either good or bad, may be posselt by Devils.

Third. Altho the most part are posselt without their consent, and in spite of them, by evil Spirits, it is believed, sometimes, that there are some which consent to it, there are those to whom are attributed Spirits of *Pitbon*, who divine by means of the Devil. *Schottus* p. 550.

Sect. 12. This Author explains to us more precisely, in what manner the Devil enters into Men, and how he works.

First. Granting he can cloath all sorts of bodies as he pleases, and according as God permits him, he can sometimes go and come, enter into Man, and come out invisibly, and sometimes, also visibly and under the figures of small Beasts, or insects, as Ants, Flies, Spiders, or under those little birds. This is the common Opinions of Popish writers, altho *Schottus* is not very much for it. p. 539. But he is in the wrong, for here's a proof, at least, as to his invisible going in, and coming out, in the *History of the Devils of Loudun*; where it is said, that a Devil called *Bibemot*, being gone out to seek a new Covenant, the guardian

dian Angel of the Nun that he possess, seized upon him and bound him for a Month, under the Picture of St. *Joseph* in the Church. p. 405. And that this Religious fancyed, as tho I know not what should have gone out from her head, which removed from her, as the Devil retired farther; and afterwards the Devil himself declared, that after having been tied in his body not to part from it, he had at present, as well as his companions, the liberty of coming too and fro. p. 408.

Second. *Schottus* however agrees, that evil Spirits give to the possess, the faculty of speaking strange languages that they never learned, and of revealing secrets, which they could not know of themselves. p. 540. So it is that the Nun of *Loudun* spoke Latin the best he could, assuring that she had never learned it. *History of the Devils of Loudun*. And so it is that the Demons discovered to the Jesuit *surin*, secret matters, in his thought or in his person. p. 273. or that they went to kiss the right hand of one of the exorcists, for that the Duke of *Orleanse* had so desired it, and had declared his desire to another exorcist. p. 297. Upon which one of them hath writ, that the Devils answered often to interrogatories, made to them by the exorcists, without expressing them otherwise then by the inferior direction of their thoughts. p. 104. See there the last effort of Divination to divine thoughts hidden, and in no ways expressed.

Third. *Schottus* says in other places, that the principal operations of the Devil, are made in the body of the possess, and that they art little or nothing upon the Soul; and that for this reason, they cannot make a Man loose his Faith, nor Hope, nor Charity. p. 534. But the Devil *Isaacarum* who knew more of it then our Author, says, that *Bebemet* had not only vex'd *Job* in his body, but that he had also troubled

troubled his Soul: and that it is for this reason, that he sinned not *in all that he said*: *History of the Devils of Loudun.* Pag. 374.

Sett. 13. See what the Devil can do, and what he does very often, according to the opinions of the *Roman Catholicks*; be it that he makes use of the Ministry of Men in these occasions, or that he uses them not; those that he imployes in his Ministry, are called Sorcerers, Enchanters, and Magicians. 'Tis stedfastly believed, thar those People have given themselves to the Devil, and have covenanted with him, and signed it with their own Blood; That the Devil on his part is observed to do all they desire during the course of their life, and that the Magicians on their part give themselves to the Devil, and put themselves into his possession all their days, or for a certain time that they have mutually agreed together. If you would see an example very particular of such a contract, you need but read the *History of the Devils of Loudun*, Pag. 271. but you cannot read it without being amazed. The Magicians, in consequence of their Covenants, are to enjoy a great deal of pleasure, which will be procured to them by the Devil, to do a great deal of mischief to others, and cause a great deal of damage to their Cattle, and to their other Goods. Their pleasure consists in solemn Assemblies, which are held in the night in places the Devil appoints, and where he appears in all sorts of Figures: there they dance, drink and eat in excess, and the Men and Women mix themselves carnally together, and with the Devil himself, who for that purpose, sometimes transforms himself into a Man, sometimes into a Woman. The Wizards and Witches are transported thro' the Windows, to places where they assemble, by virtue of a certain Ointment they anoint themselves with; they ride mounted

mounted upon the Devil, as upon a Horse, for he is obliged to serve them; and for this purpose he transforms himself into a Goat, or some other Animal. Sometimes there are in those Assemblies, strange Sacrifices, for the History of the Devils of *Loudun* writes, *Pag.* 153. That they force the Devil *Leviathan* to surrender a Contract written upon the flesh of the Heart of an Infant, taken in a *Sabbat*, held at *Orleans*, and of the Ashes of a burnt Host.

Señ. 14. The disorders that they cause to Men, are to mischief their persons, or their Cattle, to stir up Tempests, to spoil the Corn of the field, to breed Disputes, to disturb the Society of Men, by a thousand means; some times they do good with an eye to proper advantage; for some Money they discover things lost; they declare if one is bewitch'd, or if not, and by whom it has been; they teach what must be done to cure them that are so, or they cure them themselves. Of this, *Bodin* in his Book, intituled *Demonomania* shall fully instruct, the reader, that will take the pains to read him. For no Authors are more large upon that subject, than he and *Delrio*. In the mean while we will look into their Sentiments, related by *Schotus*, more plainly than in their own Books.

Señ. 15. He defines this unlawful Magick, upon which subject the Reader will not forget the distinction heretofore made, *Chap. 4. Señ. 2. & 7.* A Power by which Man works certain wonders, which surpass ordinary Understanding, which is done, not by any Art, nor by the force of his proper Faculties, nor by the application of natural Causes, but by the assistance of the Devil, by virtue of an agreement made with him. *Mag. Universe. Pag. 1. Lib. 1. in Proleg. Chap. 7.* he establishes these sorts of Covenants as certain, distinguishing them into two kinds; those which

which are made expressly with intention, and of deliberated purpose ; And those which are tacitely made. But we shall hereafter hear *Sennertus* explaining himself more at large upon this subject. However, we find in the same place, as well as in *Schorus's* Books this Maxime established as certain, *Quod Magica hujus vis omnis nititur pacto, vel tacito vel expresso cum Demone, ut probat Delrius, &c.* That all the force of this Magick, depends on an agreement made tacitely or Expressly with the Devil, as *Delrius* proves it, &c.

Sect. 16. This Author says further, That from the consideration of the ends the Magicians have, viz. to act marvelous things by the Devils power, chiefly proceed three sorts of *Witchcraft* ; for they have sometimes, no other end but to acquire the Art and Industry of producing miraculous effects for their proper advantage or pleasure ; or that of others : they sometimes endeavour to discover things to come, or to know things past, and such present as are secret and hidden, and cannot be discovered by any human power ; sometimes they have no other end but to acquire the Power, the Art, and the Means to hurt Men. This is not the place to tell what the Papists believe Magicians are able to do, and what in effect they do ; because, in the preceding Chapter, one has seen what is the power that Popery attributes to the Devil, who are likewise capable to effect by the Ministry of Men, that is to say, of Wizards and Witches, according to the conditions of their Leagues, all that they effect themselves.

Sect. 17. It will not be, however, besides the purpose, to cite *Bodin*, who tells you in very precise terms, the *Second Book, Chap. 4.* how Men expressly make Leagues with the Devil. And I grant that if it be true, that they are such as he says, I am obliged to hold with him ; these People for the most execrable

execrable of all Men, since they renounce God and his worship, if they are in the Communion of the Church; or that they abjure their Faith, if they acknowledge not the true God, or if they are of some particular Sect, and engaged in Superstitions, which is done in an express Covenant, to acknowledge the Devil, and to adore none but him. He adds a little after, Sometimes the express Obligation is but verbal, and without any writing; but sometimes it is also confirmed by writing. for the Devil resolving to be sure of them who seek him before he proposes any Covenant between him and them, he makes them give a promise in writing (if they can write) and sign it with their own Blood. He adds, further, that this obligation is made either for two, years, or for a longer time; And as if the Devil feared that those that are wholly obliged to him, should come to retract this, he is not contented to make them renounce God in terms very precise; but besides, he makes an impression upon them.

C H A P. XXI.

That several means are practis'd against Attacks, and the Illusions of the Devil and Magicians.

Seet. 1. I KNOW not whether I must put the rest I have to say upon the account of the Papists only, there being but very few of our Profession who do not believe it as they do, as I shall shew in the next Chapter. I shall report only in this, what means Popery affords to avoid all sorts of Devils and Specters, and to divert them from us. The First means consists in the resistance, which is sufficient against their Malice. The Second, consists in the finding out of those that are guilty of these Abominations. And the Third, in the Punishments that these People are thought to deserve. *Schottus* shall furnish me with that which I have to say touching the first of these means: And I shall take from other Writings what I am to relate concerning the second and third, to which I shall joyn that which may be learned by experience.

Seet. 2. Our Author, who warrants that which he says, rejects divers means, and establishes many others; we must hear him as well upon those which he rejects, as those he establishes. See these he rejects.

1. Malignant Injuries and Outrages never drive away Spirits, but some insulting terms that are made use of in Exorcisms, which have been introduced into the Church, contribute very much to expel them, *pag.* 304.

2. Nei-

2. Neither Pike nor Sword, nor any other sort of Arms will oblige them to retire, pag. 305.

3. Neither Fire nor Light that are not Consecrated, have any virtue for this purpose, p. 308.

4. Neither will they withdraw, though they find the Doors and Windows open before them, p. 308.

5. Though 'tis the Opinion of many People, who are of the Author's Profession, that Spirits may be driven away by Smoak, by Perfumes, by certain Herbs, and by Blows with Stones, they hold nevertheless, *That no natural Virtue that may be in material Subjects, can act directly upon Spirits, and that by consequence there are no sensible subjects, such as those (as have been just now mentioned) which may always expel Spirits from the places where they are, nor drive them far from Men, pag. 308. and 312.*

SECT. 3. On the contrary, he holds that the means following are absolutely effective.

1. At first he establishes two, against which there is nothing to say; which are, a stedfast Faith, and an ardent Prayer, p. 214, 215. for they are conform to the Maxims of Scripture. *This sort of Devils cannot be cast out but by Prayers and Fastings, St. Matth. 17. 20, 21.*

2. But he establishes five others, which are invented purely by Popery. First, The Relicks of Holy Bodies; or, to say better, of those who are taken for such. Secondly, The Sign of the Cross. Thirdly, Holy Water. Fourthly, *Agnus Dei*, that is, the *Lamb of God*, imprinted upon a little round figure of Wax, and consecrated by the Pope. They have, says *Schottus*, a ready virtue and efficacious, *virtutem præstantissimam*, to put the Devil to flight, p. 322. Fifth, To pronounce the name of *Jesús*, and to call upon the Virgin *Mary* his Mother, p. 324. All these means are explained, every one in particular, in the same place. They are also described,
but

but a little more abridged, although in the same sense, by *John Davidi*, Jesuit, in his Book Intituled, the *Buckler*, printed at *Baldac*, in the year 1619. I shall report his own Words, lest the Roman Catholicks should accuse me of imposing upon them: See what he writes in the 10th Chapter. *Amongst the Consecrated things which have power against the ambushes of the Enemy, we must rank these here. Holy Water, which is every Sunday consecrated in the Church, and has its name from that Consecration. The Baptismal Water that is Consecrated on the Vigils of Easter and Whitsuntide. The Holy Water, that is called Gregory Water, that the Bishops consecrate with Salt, Ashes, and Wine, therewith to consecrate Altars, and for other Holy Uses. The Candels that are wont to be Consecrated upon the Feasts of the Purification. The Branches Consecrated on Palm-Sunday; Every one of these operates its effect in being used in the same manner that they have been Consecrated, besprinkling with Water, lighting of Candles, and putting or planting the Branches in some particular place. The Agnus Dei's that are worn about the Neck, or other places, according to the veneration due to them, being Consecrated by the Pope himself, have also a Sovereign virtue to keep the Christian from the Snares, and from all the evil designs of the Enemy, or to preserve him by Sea and Land, from Fire or Water, and all other Perils. The sign of the Cross is also of a Marvellous use on these occasions; It being the Christians Duty to be always ready to make against all the Temptations the Enemy can give them, as well within as without. The Church makes a profitable use of it in all its Consecrations, in its Blessings, in the Administration of the Holy Sacrament; but especially in the Exorcisms of Evil Spirits, and in the Conjurations which are made upon People tormented by them: All which things are practised to resist the Wiles*
and

and Mischiefs of the Devil; and to repulse his Attacks, to weaken his Force, and destroy his Power.

SECT. 4. The Roman Church alone, according to this Author, has the power to use effectually these means, which it calls Spiritual. For see what he says, *All that which is not efficacious of it self, nor by some natural Virtue, nor by the Institution and Power of God, both which are found in the Sacraments; nor by the Ordinance of the Church, which acts but according to the Word of God, and by the Virtue he communicates to her: All that, I say, which is not efficacious by some one of these means, from which alone the Remedies employed in any occasion whatsoever can draw their force; If one dares undertake to make use of these things, and to apply them for Remedies, it is an action basely Superstitious and opposite to the Will of God and his Word.* Afterwards he begins the 11th Chapter in these Terms. *As to the Sacred Word, whose power affects the Enemy, the Exorcisms, or the Conjurations which are ordain'd by the Church, have a particular Virtue: Such are the Exorcisms that are made use of by the Ritual of Rome, and those that are found in the Manual made for the Archbishoprick of Malines, seen and approved by the Doctors of the Universities of Lovain.* If one has the curiosity to see all these Doctrines reduced into practice, he needs but Read the *History of the Devils of Loudun*, which has been already cited, where he will see from one end to the other, the usages of the Roman Church concerning Conjurations and Exorcisms, which are unknown to all other Religions, and of which those that read them have cause to be surpris'd.

SECT. 5. See how they proceed to find out the guilty, and particularly in Germany. It is sufficient only to have the reputation of being a Sorcerer, and you are assoon imprison'd, and interrogated; if you deny it, you are put to the Torture, even two

or

or three times ; if you confess, you pronounce your own Sentence, even of Condemnation. It is a long time since they take for a mark of Conviction, when the Accused being in the hands of Justice, cannot cry, which proof was found in the Procels of the Curate that was burnt at Loudun, *History of the Devils of Loudun, &c. Pag. 201.* for the Exorcist told him, *Præcipio ut si sis innocens, effundas lacrymas.* I command you to shed tears if thou art innocent, which not having done, they reported it for a proof of his crime, *that he shed no tears in suffering the wrack, nor after having suffered it, when he was exorcised with the Exorcisme and Magicians.* But, because it is believed that the Devil will serve his subjects or confidants, with all the skill and power he is capable of, there is a great deal of care taken to leave nothing upon the Criminals, for fear that there should remain upon them some hidden charm, by which means they may deliver themselves. For this reason they take from them all their Cloaths, and examine at the same time, whether they have the Devils mark. So the Men and the Women are stript naked, and all the Hair is shaved off their Bodies: after this manner they used the Curate of Loudun, for to prevent the help that he might hope to have from the Devils. *A Capucin Frier exorcised the Air, the Earth, and other Elements, Pag. 207. The Corners, the Woods, and the Hammers of the Rack 208. they took off his Cloaths and gave him others, Pag. 205. he was shaved all over, and searched, to find out the Devil's marks upon his Body, Pag. 130.* But not to be deceived in the judgment, that shall be made of the crime, or of the innocence of the Accused ; the Jesuit *David* reports four principal manners of making proofs, which is to the purpose to mention here. They use a red hot Iron, hot Water, or cold Water, and a Ballance.

Seft. 6. I find the three first means in the first Book of the description of *America*, of *A Mountanus* which appears to be taken from *Baxboornen*, thus they are related. The Ordallia (which is the name given to this way of proof) was Preached in the Low-Countries after this manner, when any was accused for not being a good Catholick, or of being a Sorcerer, he fasted three days, in the sight of the Priest, at the end of which, he went to Church, the Priest cloathed in his sacerdotal Habits, put upon burning Coals near the Altar, an Iron wedge besprinkled with Holy Water. He sung the Song of the three Children in the fiery Furnace, he said Mass, he put the Host in the mouth of the accused, and prayed to God that it would please him to discover the crime of Magick, of which he was suspected, in suffering that his Hand in which he was putting the red hot Iron, might be burnt, or that he might not receive any hurt, if he were innocent. These Prayers being finished, the accused was to go nine steps in carrying the burning Iron in his Hand, after which the Priest wrapt up his Hand, and seal'd the covering that was put to it. The third day he took off the seal to consider his Hand, whether it was sound and without wound, otherwise the unhappy accused had but to resolve to be burnt alive all covered with Paper, painted all over with Devils.

Seft. 7. The Ketelvang was no less painful, they had in the Church a Caldron full of boiling Water, upon which they had made the most terrible Conjurations, that can be imagin'd, after which, to come to the conviction or to the justification of the accused, he was obliged to put his Arm naked up to the elbow, in the boiling Water, as hot as could be. This usage must be very Ancient, and proceeded from Paganism, according to that which has been remarked hereupon, touching the Ancients. Chap. 3. *Seft. 18.*

Seft. 8. We have a little more knowledge of the proof by cold Water, which has been more common

more common than the others, and has been practised long ago in the West of England, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. *Montanus* has made likewise a short description of it. It was also customary to make use of a proof by cold water in Canals, Brooks and Ditches; the Priest conjured the Water, he tyed the Thumb of the accused to his great Toe, one upon another in form of a Cross, and threw him in to the water; if he sunk to the bottom, he was declared innocent; but if he was buoy'd up on the water, he was condemned as guilty.

Sect. 9. There is as yet a more particular proof, which is practised in Holland, altho, not upon the Dutch themselves, but upon stranger, that are weighed in a Ballance. The Papist inhabitants of the Bishoprick of Munster, Cologne, and Paderborne, and many other more distant places have made use, since the time of the Emperor Charles, to this day, of the publick weights of the Town D'Oudewater in this same Province. It is what I am going to tell you more precisely by the contents of a Letter written by one of the Bourgomasters of Oudewater to a friend of his, and related at the beginning of a little Book, entituled (*Sure means not to pass sentence of death unjustly.*) The Bourgomaster says chiefly in his Letter, answering to questions that had been put to him: That all those that came from that Country for this purpose, unanimously complain'd, that they had been unjustly accused of Mazick in their Country, and that if they were so unhappy as not to find proofs of their innocence in the weights of the Town of Oudewater, with which it was necessarily required, their Bodies should be in equal weight, for their justification; they ran a danger upon their return of losing their Life and Estate: Because the common belief of that Country is, that those, who weigh less than the weight that is put against them into the other part of the

Vol. I. L ballance,

ballance, (such as agreed upon, as will be presently seen) are undoubtedly Sorcerers. The Burgomaster adds, that the late Secretary Hoy had told him, that in his time there was a certain Inhabitant of the upper Country, who having had a difference with one of his Companions, he caused a discourse thro' the Country, that the other was a Wizard: Some advised this pretended Sorcerer to go into Holland, and to be weighed with the weights of Oudewater, to the end he might take off, by this means, the calumny. He goes thither, but whether out of Stupidity, imprudence, or fear, or for not being well informed of what must be practised, he returned into his own Country without being weighed. They did not fail to aske him whether he had undergone this Tryal, which he could not shew; upon which Suspensions being increased, it was believed he was found too light, and that he was guilty. The discourse being come to the Ears of the Judge of the place, he gave order to take him up; but he fled, and was concealed with a person to whom had happen'd very near the like adventure, who advised him to return to Oudewater; and indeed they went thither together. The accused was weighed in the Scales of the Town, and returning into his Country, brought with him, at this time, all the Certificates of the proof he had undergone, And then he was re-established into his good Fame; and his Estate that was seized by the Judge, was restored to him.

SECT. 10. Upon the second Question which was made to the Burgomaster of Oudewater, he answered, That there is no fix'd weight for to weigh people; but they look upon their bulk, and at sight they proportion the weight to it. Upon the Third demand, to know where this practice had taken its Original; He answered, that he could discover nothing of it. But that nevertheless, it appeared from all these matters of fact, that the Custom of the Town of Oudewater is in reputation in the Country, as has been spoken of, to produce this effect

feet, so that there are often persons that come thither to be weighed, who have brought particular recommendations from the Town or Country they lived in. They say further, that the Emperor Charles the Fifth gave this Privilege to the Town of Oudewater, gave because of the faithfulness that is made use of upon this occasion; and because they had discovered a certain Cheat, which was practised in the neighbouring Village. However, it is but a publick discourse, and without certainty.

Seet. 11. I approve very much the judgement the Author makes of this practice, but 'tis a thing I ought not to say here, to the end, not to create in the Mind of any, prejudice upon the subject I treat of. However, this same Author which has furnished me with all this Relation, and has not put his name but by N. B. A. says, That during two years that he has lived at Oudewater, they have weighed many persons for the same purpose. I have learned likewise since, that this ule still continues as yet, and pretended Sorcerers are there still.

Seet. 12. There are not many things to say touching the punishment inflicted upon Wizards and Witches in Popish Countries, more especially in Germany. It being undeniable, and generally received, that they deserve to be burned alive; it is rarely seen that they are treated with less rigor. If the number of those which have lost their lives in divers places, and at divers times upon this occasion, might be brought together, and put in Arms, they would be more than sufficient to destroy the enemy of the Christian name, and entirely destroy its Empire. We shall make this examination in our Third Book, and the review of the proceedings of the Magicians, to which the same Treatise of Sure means, &c. will be of great use.

C H A P. XXII.

That neither the Opinions that are received among us nor our Practices go usually so far ; and that is for that reason, that our Authors are not found to agree so well together, upon this subject.

I will at present leave the Papists and pass to the Protestants, whose Religion and Doctrine is more pure. They suffer not themselves to stray so much as others, about the matter in hand; for neither believing Purgatory, nor admitting the invocation of Angels and deceased Saints, they cannot likewise agree in their Opinions with the Papists, concerning apparitions and the operations of Spirits, more especially in relation to these two points; and the consequences that are necessarily drawn from thence, when they are admitted. However it must be observed, that the belief and practices of the Lutherans upon this subject, come much nearer those of Popery, than the belief of the People of our Communion. It is also to be considered, that there is among the Protestants in general, a great deal of difference between the common People and the learned; it is true, that there is likewise to be discovered some difference between those two kinds of People, among the Papists, and even among the Pagans. There appears no less among the Men of Letters in particular, some holding the common belief and helping it, others rejecting it, and others at least taking a kind of a medium between those

two parties ; so there are found among us People, who believe almost all that is said of Witchcraft and Specters. There are others, who deny all most all, but the greatest part, partly admit that which is ordinarily said, and partly reject it. That being supposed, we must still understand with relation to this distinction, what I have to say in this work touching that of the reformed Religion. But however, to abridge my discourse rather than extend it, it will be necessary, first to propose the common Opinion and the ordinary practice ; and afterwards the Opinion of People the most sensible, and the most thinking part.

Sect. 2. We frequently hear People make a great deal of discourse concerning Apparitions, Phantomes, Witchcraft, and things of that nature. It is believed in general, that Angels have been from the beginning all created by God, of which one part having revolted against him, are become Devils. But afterwards continuing to speak of the Devil, he is spoken of as singly as the Enemy of Mankind, and chiefly of the faithful, hunting continually after occasions of doing ill. There is every where had a high Opinion of his understanding, power, and action; he is conceived, or at least spoken of as one, and yet they make him to be present in all places, he acts every where, he spies and sets his Hand to every thing. I'll explain this here something more particularly.

Sect. 3. They attribute to him such an extraordinary knowledge, that 'tis pretended he understands better all the mysteries of the Gospel, than all the most learned and most understanding Divines, that he observes all our thoughts, that he mixes with and acts upon them, from him proceed apparitions, and presages, by which Men are advised of future things, before they happen to them, more particularly

ticularly when they are threatned with the death of some of their friends, or some other evil accident. It is believed further, that a Divine may declare where one shall find what is lost, whether a Man is bewitch'd, and who is the Author of the mischief, and what means there are to deliver him and many other such like things.

Sect. 4. The Opinion of the power of the Devil, has been doubtless urged to excess, for neither God nor Jesus Christ have ever done any thing great or marvellous but the People ascribe to the Devil, I have shewn before in some manner, *Ch. 18. Sect. 6.* That those thoughts proceeded from the *Manichees*. When God permits him he can appear to Men in all sorts of figures, not only in those of good and bad Men living or Dead, but also in those of several Beasts; from this same principle comes the belief that is still in being, that wicked debauched People transform themselves also by the power of the Devil, making use of means designed for this purpose, into many shapes of Beasts, as of Wolves, but particularly into that of Cats, and being so transfigured they pass through the quarrel of a glass window, or the hole of a Bell, to go in the night to the *Sabat*, as I have already said; or rather they ride on Horseback upon a stick up the Chimney, and this belief to this time cannot be rooted out among us, from the mind of the People; further it is imagined, that these same People may, with the cooperation of the Devil, stir up tempests, shut the wind up into a Handkerchief, and let it out when they will, which however is seldom attributed but to the *Laplanders* and to *Finlanders*, to which the stories that are made of their practices, have given occasion, so great is the credulity of the People, even for the most absurd thing; they persuade themselves also, that these People devoted to the Devil, learn of him

him the secret of making certain oyntments, by which they make themselves invulnerable against Swords or Musquets ; and that they obtain likewise great many other advantages from their Master.

Señ. 5. It is not doubted but leagues are made between the Devil and Magicians, by which means all these accident happen ; People are even perswaded of the effect of the proofs by Water, into which the accused are thrown, and of a great many other-like things; above all of the usefulness of the advice the exorcists give, as that endeavouring to cause the person bewitch'd, to be blest by him that has done the mischief, which is held for an remedy infallible ; if the pretended Sorcerer refuses to do it, he may be forced to it by blows, and by violencies. Another remedy is to bake some certain things in some certain Pot, for a certain number of hours, to a certain hour of the Day or Night. The guilty is forced by this means, to come to the house, and consequently make himself known, or the bewitch'd person swallows what has been baked, or carries something about his Neck, or hanging upon his Breast. In short there are a thousand other things which would be unprofitable and tedious to relate.

Señ. 6. The use that is made of all these Opinions, and the consequences that are drawn from them, are to attribute to the inspirations and solicitations of the Devil, all these extraordinary events, and almost all the sins that are committed, especially, those that are most enormous. If a sudden tempest arises, and that there is some in our company who is not very much our friend, and is a little suspected of being a Witch, we do not fail of imputing to him this disorder. If any one gives a little Cake, a Sugar plum, an Apple, or other fruit to a Child, who comes very suddainly after to fall into a lan-

guishing condition for a long time, he that has made this present is immediatly suspected of having bewitched the Child, and the means are made use of as we have told you before, as a proof to discover the truth; if the Child recovers presently after the tryal, it is no more doubted, but that the disease was the effect of Witchcraft, and that the suspicion against the Magician was well grounded.

Sect. 7. I have spoken hitherto of the Opinions and practices of the common People only, I shall now shew, that which our Doctors and our Men of letters believe upon this point. There are none so credulous as the Vulgar; however there is a very considerable difference to be seen in their Opinions, some believing almost every thing, and others almost nothing at all. These two Opinions so different, ought to be attributed to two Scots; to the one an Illustrious *King of Great Brittain*, which is, ~~King James~~, the Sixth King of Scotland, and Fir st King of England of that name; and the other, to one of his Scotch Subjects, a Scot by birth as by name, being call'd *Reynard Scot*; the King held the affirmative as to the popular Opinion of Witchcraft, and Apparition of Spirits, which his subject had already confuted. *John Wierus* who lived in the begining of the Reformation, made by means of *Luther* and *Calvin*, had from that time published his Opinion upon the delusion of Spirits, and upon the impostures of Witches, and he had taken a part which held in the middle between those two Opinions; so *King James* in his *Book of Demonology* contested with these two Authors, according to his expresse Declaration in the Preface.

Sect. 8. What is most important in his Book comes very near to this. In the sixth Chapter of the first Book, there are descriptions so exact of leagues

leagues that Magicians make with the Devil, that it seems as if the King himself had seen the Original, or that they had been reported in the Council. In the fourth Chapter of the second Book, the King puts for certain, that evil Spirits may carry Men through the Air, or assume divers forms, to visit the Magicians, when they are in Prison. In the seventh Chapter, he says, that in the time of Popery and Paganism, there was a great many more Apparitions; but that it was observed, that since this last Reformation of the Christian Church, there have been fewer Apparitions, and a great many more Witchcrafts. Concerning the apparitions of Hobgoblins and Phantoms, of which he treats in the Third Book, there are scarce any kind to which this Prince gives not credit, even to *Incubusses* and *Succubusses*, which are Spirits, who, as Men, mix themselves carnally with Women, and as Women with Men. In reference to the possest, the King agrees that the Popish Priest may drive out the Devil; but upon the proofs that he has to convince one of the crime of Magick, he only says, there must be no less than twelve witnesses, amongst which may be admitted, Infants, infamous People, and even those that are taken to be Magicians.

Sec. 9. Now altho the learned, as I have already said, extol not so much all these things, nor teach them so expressly; and that by consequence, they credit not so much what is ordinarily believed and said touching the power and Operations of the Devil upon Men, and concerning that which they effect by the means of Men; we must however observe, that they give so much extent to his power and actions, that not only they help not to destroy the general Opinion that is had of him; but also maintain it by different expressions they make use of, and by the instructions they give. It is what

is seen, especially in the works of two English Authors, who explain themselves more plainly, and precisely than all others upon this matter, which they treat from the foundation; whereas others keep the same language only by occasion, and when treating of other subjects, they are obliged to speak of them. The first of these Authors is, *William Gurnal* in his great Book upon the *Ephesians*, 6. 11. 18. entituled, *The Christian in compleat Armour*, the first Edition is in the Year 1655. And since there has been Printed at London in folio in 1679. the sixth Edition. He says, *That the Devil being a spiritual being, extremely evil, these two considerations ought to cause a great deal of fear to a Christian*, p. 94. *Because he is a great Prince who surpasses Man very much in power and craft, that his craft is observed by his marvelous knowledge, first, in spying proper occasions to tempt Men*, p. 36. *Secondly, in his subtle and artificial conduct, and in all the vices he makes use of for this effect*, p. 37. *Thirdly, in the care he takes to make all the preparations necessary to attack us to his advantage, every time he finds opportunity to do it*, p. 43. *Fourthly, In the trouble that he stirs up in our Consciences, in reproaching us with our Sins, and in the artifices that he uses, and the ambushes he lays* p. 44. As to what concerns the power and Virtue of the Devil, the Author holds in the first place, *That he has power not only on the Elements and corporeal senses, but also upon spiritual substances of the World, and upon the Souls of Men*, p. 74. Afterwards he declares what is the time and place of his Empire over his subjects, *viz. the time, in this life, over people of Darknes; the place, in the World, for as much as it is plung'd into impiety*, p. 79.

SECT. 10. The other English Author is *Joseph Glanville*, the title of which Book is *Saducismus Triumphatus*, *Saducism defeated*, a Book, wherein he employs

a great deal of Learning, to prove that Witchcrafts, Inchantments, Apparitions, and Phantoms, are possible; and afterwards that they are things practised, and which actually happen. The first Edition of it has been also in English at London in 1661. after the death of the Author. He pretends, that what he establishes as a certain Truth, is groundd upon Reasons and Examples: And I grant, that as to the force of Reasoning, I do not know any Writer who has better succeeded than he has. Here are his supposed Truths; That among other effects, which are attributed to Magicians of both Sexes. First, *Being anointed with certain Magical Ointments they pass through the Chimney, and are transported into very distant places.* Secondly, *That they are turned into Cats, Hares, and divers other Creatures and Figures.* Thirdly, *That they feel in their own Bodies the same wounds that are made in the Bodies they borrow.* Fourthly, *That in muttering certain unintelligible Words, and in making certain Gestures extraordinary and ridiculous, they raise Tempests.* Fifthly, *That they are sucked by familiar Spirits in the most secret parts of their Bodies.* The Author believes that the more these things are incredible and ridiculous, the more certain they are. I shall examine his Reasons in my second and third Book, and his Instances in my last, with more exactness than what other Authors have written upon this Subject, for the consideration I have already alledged; that he carries it above all others, as to the force of his Reasoning.

SECT. 11. All that has hitherto been said, respects, first, the Devil, and afterwards Men, that are believed to have Commerce with him, considered distinctly and separately from him. But an union must be made betwixt them. For which effect, the Leagues already mention'd were invented, SECT. 5. of this Chapter, and heretofore Chap. 20. SECT. 13.

Moreover,

Moreover, the Opinions which have been reported having passed from Popery amongst us, and been admitted by many Doctors of our Communion; yet I know not any who has taken their part so much as *Daneus*, which is chiefly observed in two Points in his Description of the Leagues, and in the effects he attributes to Sorcerers and Witches; for these two things are found very amply treated of in his little Book, *De Sortiariis, Of Witches*; but especially the first is described with more circumstances than I have read in any Popish Author. So seeing this Doctor has been one of the most considerable among us, and that having lived a little after the time of *Calvin* and *Luther*, his Book, which was written 116 years ago, has not been attacked nor contradicted that I know of by any Protestant Writer, but only by *Schottus*; from thence may be inferr'd, that these Doctrines are not unknown to us, nor rejected by the Protestant Churches. I am going to relate in short the contents of this Author's Writings.

Sect. 12. See what he sets down in his fourth Chapter, *Nullum non Sortiarum cum Satana fœdus iniisse, sequens devovisse*, That there is no Sorcerer but he has made agreement with the Devil, and devoted himself to him: See the description he makes of these contracts.

First, To secure the Person of the Magician, the Devil imprints a mark either under the Eye-lids, or between the Buttocks, or the Pallat of the Mouth, that it may not be perceived in those places. The Author believes that there are none exempt from carrying it: It is for this Reason, that the Judges order the whole Body of those that are accused of this Crime, to be shaved, to know the place that is marked, as I have told you.

Secondly, The Conditions of these Contracts imply that they shall renounce God, and acknowledge Satan, and adore him for their God, and in Recompence he shall assist

assist them, and shall come to their succour as oft as they apply themselves to him, which he will never fail to do no more than the *Witches* on their part fail to obey all his Commands.

Thirdly, After the Covenant has been thus mutually agreed upon, the Magician, the morrow after, sacrifices to the Devil, a Dog, a Cat, or a Hen, that belongs to him, by which means the Contract is confirmed a new.

Fourthly, Afterwards the Devil causes in proper time and place, all the Magicians to assemble where ever he prescribes; there he makes every one of them give an account of the Mischiefs he has done by his Power and Means.

Fifthly, He sometimes takes the trouble to get them together, assuming a human shape for that purpose, and making himself known to the Magicians only: At other times he employs some of them to go and Convene the Assembly, shewing them the time and place: This Assembly is not always general, sometimes there are but a certain number which he has chosen to please himself.

Sixthly, If there are some, who through weakness of Body cannot go, he gives them a Stick, or a Horse, or some Oyntment to anoint themselves, by the virtue of which being become invisible, he transports them through the Air.

Seventhly, He appears himself as Master of the Club, in shape of a Man, or in some ugly He-Goat, or in whatever Form he pleases.

Eightly, There they repeat their Oaths made to him, after which they sing and dance in honour of their new God.

Ninthly, Afterwards he furnishes them with such means as they desire, to do mischief to such as they please. He teaches them to make up their Poisons, and promises them to continue his assistance to them, and his service for their occasions.

Tenthly,

Tenthly, By virtue of these Agreements Satan fails not to work wonders in favour of his Magicians, as oft as they make the sign that he has taught them, and ordered them to do, in which sign consists not the operative and active faculty, as the Magicians believe, but it resides in the Devil, who operates when warned by the sign.

Señ. 13. There is already a great deal, but however there are more things which the Author ascribes to the Devil, and which may be gathered and inferred from divers places of this Book, where they are expressly contained, as :

First, That he often appears in human shape.

Secondly, That he sometimes troubles, and casts such a Mist over the Senses of those that are engaged with him, that they fancy to have been in certain places, and to have acted several things, though there is no truth or reality in these Imaginations.

Thirdly, But he really carries them through the Air whither he pleases.

Fourthly, That by the Ministry of Wizzards and Witches, he can Poison Men secretly from far, without touching them.

Fifthly, That the Devil, or the Magicians by his means, may raise Tempests, and cause Rain.

Sixthly, He rejects the Opinion of those who believe the power of the Devil has no longer any effect upon the Magicians, nor can act in their behalf, as soon as they are in the Hands and Power of Justice ; on the contrary, he supposes, that the virtue of Witchcraft may be exerted even in Prisons ; and that oftentimes the Devil breaks there the Necks of those who belong to him : These are *Danew's* his Doctrines.

Señ. 12. Furthermore, the most common Opinion of the Doctors of our Communion, is, That the Devil does not know things to come, but only of himself he forms conjectures ; that nevertheless the greatest

greatest part of Divines consult him for their Predictions. That it is from him they learn what they discover to other Men of things present, things hidden ; as when there has been something stoll'n, or some body bewitch'd, they declare the Thief or Magician. They likewise ascribe to him some knowledge of the Thoughts of Men, since they fancy that he disturbs and seduces them, and that he incites them to mischief. For that is properly what we understand when we pray in our Churches for those that are tempted and troubled in their Consciences. There are no errors produced, there arises no Heresies in the Church, it is not afflicted with any persecution, but the Devil has contributed thereto. All the places of Scripture, that speak of the Devil, are understood with relation to these Ideas: And it is upon these interpretations that these Opinions are grounded. It is also by the same reason, that not only the *Protestants*, but almost all the *Christian Writers* assert, That it is not allow'd to consult the Devil, who is the enemy of God, and of Men, nor to seek his help : They however agree, that the *Pagan Oracles* have not always been given by the Devil, but that often they have been the effect of the impostures of Priests, which has so often appear'd, that it is impossible not to know it.

Scct. 13. The power of the Devil is extremely boasted of, for there are very few Doctors who doubt but he can assume a Body, and possess the Bodies of Men, and transport and torment them several ways, as effectively, as he had actually the impudence to do these things to our Saviour *Jesus Christ* himself, and to a great many people, of which the Gospel tell us that being possess'd by evil Spirits, they were delivered by our Saviour. They also suppose, that the opinion of the apparitions of Specters

Specters, is confirmed by Scripture, and that 'it was the Devil (at least, according to the opinion of some) who appeared under the Figure of *Samuel*. They think that it cannot be deny'd, but that he has power over the Air and Winds, over Armies, over the Goods of Men, their Bodies, and their Lives, which is proved by the example of what happen'd to *Job*. And by the effects that the *Magicians of Egypt* produc'd in the time of *Moses*, which are as so many sure marks of the power of the Devil, either to produce Insects, as Frogs and Serpents, and to make a Transmutation of the Elements, either to represent with an inconceivable readiness, things that are to be fetch'd from far, or at least, so to dazle the eyes of Men, to see what is not.

Sett. 14. As to the means which Magicians, Diviners, and Inchanters make use of, scarce is there a person of good Sense, that believes they are efficacious of themselves, but they will have it to be effected by the Devil, who operates all that those miserable wretches imagine to act; and that the Covenants made between him and them, oblige him to execute that which they require of him; provided only, that they make use of Signs, and that they imploy circumstances destin'd for that purpose, such as he has taught them. It is very prudently observed, as is believed, that those Leagues are made two ways, which I shall express in the words of *Sennertus*, taken from his Treatise upon this Question. *Whether one may be render'd invulnerable to the point of a Sword, and to Musquets?* where he says, That the Contract with the Devil is of two kinds, mediate or immediate; express or tacite. The immediate, or express Contract, is when any makes use of means, that he has been immediately furnished with by the Devil. The mediate or tacite Contract is, when one makes use of the means, which in truth have been ordain'd

ordain'd by the Devil ; but not having been supply'd by the Devil himself, comes to him by the hand of some other person ; which is directly contrary to the Law of God, that forbids us to have other Gods but him : For he says a little further, The consent is not altogether excluded from the tacite agreement, because, whosoever is not as yet deprived of Reason, as not to avoid the Precipices of Rocks, or the mouth of a Pit, he cannot but see that such Words and Characters have not in themselves any virtue ; and that by consequence, before making use of them, we are obliged to examin by what virtue they may produce such effects : for if one neglects to do it, it is certain a tacite Contract with the Devil, who has promised to execute all the clauses and conditions of his writing in favour of those who make use of the Words and Characters therein contained, in consequence of which, he who makes use of it, cannot pretend himself innocent of the crime of Magick. Such is *Sennertus's* opinion, and as I may judge from my own experience, will not be confuted by our Doctors, for I hear them generally hold speaking the same Language. Doctor *Wierius*, a famous Man, who had very much meditated upon this matter, and had studied it very much, establishes all these things a little more confusedly, but yet very near upon the same foot.

Sect. 15. I have something to add here concerning Dreams. The common Language of our Divines, is, that there are four sorts ; Natural, Civil, or such as are occasion'd by the preceding conversation and actions, without Nature or Temper having any share in them ; Lastly, Divine or Diabolical. They hold that these last proceed from the inspiration of the Devil, who disturbs the imagination of Man, and represents to him fearful Figures, to disquiet or fright him, or to transport him for some time into some place where

where he pleases : as we have seen before, that he transports the Witches to their several meetings. In consequence of this Doctrine, there are some of opinion, that the Dream that *Pilate's Wife* suffered so much because of Christ, was a Diabolick Dream.

Sett. 16. But I find not any of these Doctors who have heretofore ever attributed so little understanding and Power to the Devil ; as to the knowledge and effects already described, as *Reynold Schot* has, before quoted. We have at this time *Anthony Van Dalen*, who ascribes no more to him in his *Book of Oracles* : these two Authors hold that there is no other efficient cause of all the things which are practised, or which are operated, but the impostures of Men ; the Devil having no part in them. I learn also, whilst I am taken up in this present Work, that the most sensible among us, attribute but very little power and knowledge to the Devil : and that there are a great many more than I conceived, who, as to the actions of the possessed and bewitched are of the same opinion with Mr. *Daillon*, who in a *French Book* concerning Demons, maintains all that which is contained in the Scripture, touching evil and unclean Spirits, is not otherwise to be understood, than of certain Diseases to which the *Jews* used to give such names, believing, however that it might happen, evil Spirits medl'd with them at the same time. There's lately come to my hands very conveniently, a little *Book of Mr. Orchard's an Englishman*, Preacher in the *New-Netherlands*, as I am told, in which the ancient and common opinion upon this subject is confuted, as being directly opposite to the Doctrine and belief of the Protestant Churches.

Sett. 17. But let us leave off speaking of these People, because, that of one side there is no necessity here to handle them and because I intend to do it afterwards

afterwards. It is not necessary to speak of them here, because my intention is not to set down here what is not said of the Devil, and what is not attributed to him; but my design is to relate that which is said of him, and to examine whether it be true or no. 'Tis sufficient for me to hold the last Negative with the *English* Writer, because I am much averse from maintaining the opinion which ascribes so much power and virtue to Spirits; and especially to the bad. And further, I shall be obliged to enter the List with *Schor, Van Dalen*, and many others, who oppose the common belief that they had of this Power, when I shall come afterwards to examine the reasons and proofs upon which it is founded. However, before I finish this First Part, I shall rehearse all that has been said, and compare the opinions of Infidels with those of the Christians.

CHAP. X

C H A P. XXIII.

That of all these Opinions put together, there result some certain propositions; in which they differ, and others in which they agree.

SECT. I. **I** have from time to time conferr'd the Opinions that I have related, first those of the Ancient and modern Pagans, in the 11th Chapter, and afterwards those of the Jews, Mahometans, and Christians of the six first Ages, in the 17th Chapter. There remains now to compare those of the Papists and Protestants, after which we will confer them all together; to that end, we must break off the order that we have kept hitherto, and begin with the last; they will furnish us with very certain proof, that there is no Opinion to which the World is more engag'd, than to that which is almost generally every where taught and received concerning Spirits; for the Protestants have retained all that which cannot be look't upon as a pure invention of Popery in particular; and there are even some, whose belief upon this subject, go farther than those of the Papists. The Christians in general believe all that is not particular to the Jews and Pagans; the Jews and the Mahometans believe all that, according to them, is not inconsistent with the belief of one only God; some will tell me perhaps, that we must not wonder at it, and that naturally it ought to be so. This is what
we

we have now to examine, and there will be as yet room to speak more plainly and fully afterwards.

Sect. 2. Notwithstanding it is convenient to advertise the Reader, that relating here the difference or the conformity of the Opinions of all Nations, I mean only the Opinions of the more learned and are remarked amongst the Doctors, or who are taken for wisemen in their Country, and capable of instructing others in matter of Faith and Religion. I intend not to speak of particular Opinions, but of those generally received, taught, and confirmed by practices; for as to the common People, either Papists, Jews, or Pagans, they know nothing for the most part, but a little by hear-say; so that there is no relying upon them, and it is sure without mistake, that for the most part, what the most illiterate believe and practice, is contrary to the sense of Divines, and of all those that understand any thing in the Holy Scripture. I will have nothing to do with them upon this subject, having often tryed my self how many follies our own People say and believe, upon this account.

Sect. 3. So it is necessary to establish here as certain and undoubted, that every Opinion that proceeds from Paganism as from it's Original, cannot at the same time be founded upon the Holy Scripture. It is true, there never was a Doctor either Christian or Jew, who has not applied some place in Scripture to what he has proposed, but the Question is to know, whether the applications were just, and whether the Scripture may be expounded in the sense put upon it; for it may be that these Doctors having their imagination fill'd with their own Ideas, believe in reading, to see things there which are not there, and that their own prejudice causes to be found there; of this the Reader may at first judge himself, if he will but mind with attention what follows

follows, where I remark briefly what every Sect rejects, and what every one admits; and afterwards what the one have borrowed of others, and what they have retained to this time.

Sect. 4. Altho the Protestant Churches, with one common consent, deny Purgatory and all the places where they put Souls, except Paradise and Hell; these two points, are Opinions of Popery. There has been some mention made of them amongst the primitive Christians, neither the Jews nor the Mahometans reject them, and they have been taken from Paganism. Whosoever rejects them, he must reject together all the Doctrines and practices that are grounded upon them. For this reason,

First. We do not believe among us, that the Souls of the Deceased are never wandering, nor that they appear to the living, under any figures whatsoever, to obtain help and comfort from them.

Second. It is not believed that the Souls of the blessed come back from Heaven upon Earth, nor that those of the damned come back from Hell. It is not believed, that either the one or the other appears to Men, to comfort or fright them; and far less as yet, that the living can make agreements together, to come back after Death and visit those they had agreed with, who have surviv'd them.

Third. By this reason, the Dead are never ask'd any Questions, nor any religious worship paid to them.

Sect. 5. The Virtue of Conjurations is likewise unknown among us, either to drive the Souls of the deceased, or to expel evil Spirits, with whom any should be tormented. No other means is known sufficient for this effect, but Prayer and fasting, taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, *St. Matthew, Ch. 17 v. 21.*

First. For this Reason it is not believed, that there is any body either Priest or Exorcist, which is authoris'd to make such Conjurations, nor ought to meddle with them, altho a like practice was admitted in the first time of Christianity; whether it had success by the power of God, or it was the meer effect of the Artifices of Men, and that it has been a custom among the Jews, Mahometans and all the Pagans.

Second. Neither is it believed, words, names, signs, gestures, and postures, even tho they were taken from the Holy Scripture, have any power for this effect, either of themselves or institution of the Church; because she has not received any power from God, to give her Authority as to this point.

Third. They Conjure not the Devil in the Baptism of Children, as the Papists do; the Lutherans do the like, but not with the same intent, as the first, that is, that the Devil is in the Infant, or that he is driven out by the Virtue of words, which are pronounced; for they only retain this practice, because of it's antiquity, it being indifferent of it self, at least such is their pretence or excuse.

Scct. 6. Now that the Doctrines of the Protestants have been conferr'd with those of Popery in particular; it remains to see what difference there is between the Christians in general, and the Infidels.

First, The Pagans, the Jews, and the Ancient Christians have believed that there is another kind of Spirits, which are placed between God and the Angels, or which are in some sort corporeal, but it is not granted any more at this time by Christians.

Second. Likewise it is not usual among them, to associate God, or the Spirits to the Stars. As touching God, it was an Opinion purely Pagan; and touching

ouching Spirits, it was a Jewish Opinion; I know not whether it may be said, that the Ancient Christianity had not some tincture of it.

Third. This difference of nature in the Angels, proposed by the Jews, is not believed any more; it draws its Original from Ancient Paganism, and is admitted to this day, by the modern Pagans; It's true, that the Papists acknowledge a difference of Order, but they put none in the essence of these Spirits. Likewise, tho' they make generally appear all sorts of Spirits, nevertheless the difference is only in respect of places, of Persons, and effects, as we have shewn more fully, *Ch. 19 Sect. 7. 17. Ch. 20. Sect. 1. 2. 3.* but it is no way in respect of their nature, nor of their Original.

Fourth. There is not a Christian, be he Protestant or Papist, who believes, that Spirits are truly capable of engendering; which is nevertheless the common belief of all the Pagans, which is received among the Jews, and has not been confuted sufficiently by the primitive Christians, among whom are found, some who have expressly taught it.

Sect. 7. But the Pagans differ from the Mahometans and Christians chiefly in two points.

First, That they mix and confound together the supream God with other superior and inferior Gods good and bad; and also the Souls of Men with all those Gods, in such a confused manner, that it is impossible to comprehend any thing, and that it is a Labyrinth from whence they cannot extricate themselves. On the contrary, the Jews and Mahometans agree with the Christians, in this point, that there is one only God, and that all that is besides him has been created by him.

Second. In that, that not only they make no great difficulty to deify Men, but that they make also the Gods return to the condition of Men, and that

that they believe there are Men, the issue of the Gods; there are some of these errors, which the Papists cannot boast of being entirely free from; for they may reasonably be reproached, that they have substituted their Saints to these imaginary Gods, and to those Demons of the Pagans; That they speak of Saints as the Pagans do of their Gods; that they make them act in the same manner, that these false Deities were supposed to act. But pure Christianity, such as has been in all times upon this point, never make Gods a Man, nor never raises Man to the dignity of God.

sect. 8. There is notwithstanding some point upon which the Protestants are not agreed, and upon which, nevertheless the Papists, the primitive Christians, the Jews, the Mahometans, and all the Pagans agree, viz. The Tutelary Gods of the Pagans, who were the guardian Angels in the first Christianity. We have lately seen they are admitted without contestation among the Papists; the Protestants in general, are not disposed to receive this Opinion; those of the profession of *France, Holland, and Swisserland*, reject it; and nevertheless there are some, but very few, that admit it, or at least believe, not that there are sufficient reasons to oppose it; we shall examine afterwards, which is the soundest of these Opinions. In the mean while we must take notice before hand, that what the Papists teach upon this subject, together with some of other Christians that are not of their Communion, relates more to the light and knowledge which they suppose that those Spirits communicate to them, than real help they can expect in their actions, and in their manner of living; for it is rarely seen, or to say better, it is never seen, that the People ascribe a considerable deliverance, or a great oppression, that befall them to an Angel, either their

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keeper or their enemy ; but they never fail to ascribe it immediatly to the providence of God ; or if they sometimes turn their Eyes to another side, the Papists as to their particular refer all the good that happens to them, to the protection of some great Saint, especially to that of the *Virgin Mary* ; but the Protestants, lest they should seem to favour the belief of the Popish Saints, would rather say, if occasion serves, that the Devil was the Author of it,

SECT. 9. There is also a difference to be taken notice of, betwixt the Heathens on one side, the Jews and the Mahometans on the other, and all the Christians on another ; it is chiefly in the practice of Witchcraft and Divination ; which, according to the principles of the first, is a laudable practice in it self, altho often abused, as a great many good things are ; according to the principles of the second, it is only allow'd and useful in many occasions ; and according to the last it is directly opposite to Christianity. The reason of it is, that the Pagans hold for Gods, or at least for Ministers and Ambassadors of the Gods, Spirits, which are lookt upon by Christians as unpure Spirits ; and that the Jews and the Mahometans cause to proceed from the Virtue of the *Caballa*, and the influences of the Stars, whatever the Christians take to be Magick, Witchcraft, or Enchantments. It is true, that in the time of Ancient Paganism, the Mathematicians have been put into the rank of Poisoners, and that both were treated as persons equally pernicious, to whom it was forbidden to exercise their art, as being unlawful. But the occasion of these prohibitions, was only founded upon the ill use that was made of this Art, which had been before not only permitted, but even much esteem'd. At this time the Christians have no longer any aversion for the name of Mathematician, but that of Poysoner never received any good interpretation ; no that words are
here

here to be disputed, for 'tis of things that we treat; and we are to examine them, and not words. Perhaps there will be occasion to have some regard to them, in our third Book; where without doubt, it will be necessary to speak fully of these terms, and of many others.

Señ. 10. Let's now see what conformity is found among all these People together, Pagans, Jews, Mahometans, Christians, both Ancient and Modern, Roman Catholicks, Protestants and others. They all confess,

First. That there are Spirits distinct from God, and bodies: for tho' some contrive yet another kind of Spirits, as we have said; it is one of the points in dispute among them, and now we are about to seek wherein they agree together.

Second. That there natures are different, some absolutely subsisting without body, as Angels; and others being united to a body, as Souls.

Third. That, however, both are mortal.

Fourth. That of such Spirits as are united to a body, some are good to Men and others bad.

Fifth. That therefore, Man has reason to seek the friendship of good Spirits, that is, the Angels, and to take all possible care to divert from him evil Spirits, which are Devils.

Sixth. That an infinite happiness or misery attends Men after this life.

Seventh. That likewise of the Souls of the deceased, some are bad, and some good and holy; tho' they seem not to explain themselves always in the same manner, sometimes upon one of the points, and sometimes upon the other; it is nevertheless certain, considering the bottom of the matter, that their sentiments are agreeable; see then in what consists the conformity of the Opinions in general of all Nations, and in what they differ. We have

now to examine, what is true or what not, in all that has been related; and it is for that purpose, I design my second and third Book, according to the division I have established before, Chapter the first, *Sect.* 8. However we shall yet see, what cautions may be drawn from all that has been said.

C H A P. XXIV.

That all that has been related, shews upon what foundation the Christians in general, and the Protestants in particular, say, such extraordinary things of the Devil.

Sect. 1. **B**Efore I pass to my second Book, where I shall examine what is purely the truth, we must search into all the quotations and Opinions that are collected here; after the Original of this Opinion, so general and so deeply rooted, touching the great power of the Devil, which we see, that all the Christians, Protestants, Romans and others, carry so high at this time; there is none who can deny but several things present themselves in these narrations, that all the World easily perceives and are capable to produce such Opinions, or to confirm them in the minds of Men; neither that Scripture or Reason should lead Men thereto, But they gather them from other places, and without examining whether they are agreeable to those two rules, only worthy of being follow'd; they respect them nevertheless because of the credit in which they have been for a long time, and of the approbation that has been given them. Now, I intend to show first, that all that is believed touching the great power of the Devil, beyond what Scripture and Reason manifestly

manifestly teaches us of it, proceeds not from any of these two springs, nor takes it's Original from any consequences that may be drawn from them, and afterwards to discover what is the true cause of it.

Señ. 2. The truth of this proposition is easily known as to it's first respect ; because it is known, that the most stupid and those that partake least of the light of Reason or of knowledge of the Scripture, are those which give most credit to what is said upon the matter in hand. The common People, Children, and Old Women, are much more perswaded of it than others ; but the more understanding one has, the more one is conversant in the Holy writ, and the more experience he has gained by the conversation of the World, and by the different accidents which have presented themselves, especially when experience is joyned to these two first Conditions, the less he will be apt to believe such Opinions ; I say he will be the less apt to believe them, because it must be granted, that there are People of a great deal of learning and experience, who not only receive them, but imploy all their skill and capacity to confirm them, and cause them to be admitted ; as *King James the First, Bodin, Dancus*, and many others have done. But I think not that we must believe what they have done, ought to be attributed to the evidence of reason, which have perswaded them, but to their prejudices, and to a certain particular inclination, according to which, every one turns himself toward such or such an object, according to his inclination. It is by the motions of this natural inclination that the understanding being surprized, takes a disposition to follow it ; and when it has once addicted it self thereto, it makes use of all it's force and light to maintain its choice, and to shew that truth and rea-

son have been his guides to the part he has taken, which he fancies all other Men by the same Principles are also obliged to take: That being supposed, it follows, that the Opinion of a very small number of Writers cannot hinder that what I have proposed should be true, as to the whole, or the greatest part: And it is my advice, which methinks no body will deny me.

S. 3. It may be objected, as to what concerns Nature, that it cannot be said, that what was never taught by the Pagans and Philosophers, who had not the help of any other Light but that of Nature and Reason; or what they have left in their Writings, was drawn from any other spring but Nature it self. I grant it; But what have they taught upon this subject? All that we have reported before in the ten Chapters, that are betwixt the first and twelfth: There every one may see what it is; what are their uncertainty and contradictions; how different and opposite among them are their practices. What foundation can be laid upon a Philosophy, which has not sought but to accommodate it self to capricious and prejudiced People; and which consists almost in nothing else but the Tricks of Priests. Besides, it is not a pure Philosophy that has been the original and foundation of Pagan Religions; but the Philosophy such as it has been comprehended and understood by the People; that is to say, very ill in part or in the whole, mixed with prejudice and great ignorance. The fear caused by extraordinary and surprising objects, and the blind love every one has for his own Notions, produced in that perturbation, drive Men to seek the means to appease a power from which proceed those extraordinary objects, and which is the cause of those evils they are not able to resist. These two Reasons, I say, carry Men to practise, for that end, all sorts

sorts of means, although they know them but by half's, or not at all. The greatest part of those who might discover to them their Mistakes, and afford them better Instructions; either will not give themselves the trouble, or choose rather to keep it secret, and make use of the Error of the People, to the end to acquire more Credit, and to be the objects of a greater admiration; as heretofore the *Magi* did; and as at this time the *Bramines* and the *Bonges* do: If there is any one who had better inclinations, he dares not open his Mouth for fear of incurring the indignation of the publick; As *Socrates* whose boldness cost him his life, which was taken away by Poison.

Sect. 4. We must therefore imagine, that there are not any of those that addicted themselves to Philosophy, who from their youth had not been bred in the Opinions, and exercise of the Religion of their Ancestors; So that they owe unto the Schools the Prejudices that they had thereby already swallowed. They found Masters who were no less prevented with theirs; either that they were alike to those of their Scholars, or that they were different. If they were alike, the Disciples were confirm'd in those prejudices by their Masters; and if they were different, they afforded them more matter to confound their Understanding. Lastly, However it was, their Understanding could but remain corrupted, and their ill disposition but daily increase. If this needed a proof, and required less time, it would be no hard task to prove what I assert; since I may name Persons, who may be living instances of it: But no body, methinks, will require from me what I have just now said, being too evident to be call'd in question. If there are some who never reflected upon it, in relation to the Infidels, he need but make Considerations upon the Christi-

ans and himself quickly to discover the Truth. A blind and brutish zeal for Religion, or rather for what is call'd Religion, ordinarily precedes knowledge, without which, however, there is no true Religion, nor sincere Piety. The Eyes of our Understanding are insensibly used to objects, that continually offer themselves to them; they turn of their own accord to that side, and afterwards, neither will nor can look upon others; or at least if they perceive others, 'tis as through the former that darken the sight by their continual presence, and by the weariness caused by their too much gazing upon them; so that without the help of those comforting Spectacles, if I may so speak, the faculty, weakened by want of habit, is no longer able to endure the Light. Let this be observed before-hand, to be serviceable hereafter.

Sect. 5. And as to the *Holy Writ*, I think not that it may be taken for the cause of the Opinions Men have of the Devil. Those Opinions being already rooted in the mind as deeply as they can be, before the *Holy Bible* be ever read; not to say, that the less we read it, the more we credit what is said upon that account, and the more we are disposed to affirm it. Had we not in matter of Religion, Dispositions alike to those of other Sects, and even to those of the Unfaithful, we would doubtless make a good use of the sacred Writings, and speak as they do. But to our great shame, most part of us, as well as of other Sects, that pretend a Veneration for the *Holy Writ*, search not in it after its Sense, being satisfied with the vulgar Interpretations, and such as they have received from others. And therefore we keep to such Explications as we hear in those Churches, in which those of our Communion use to gather; unless we will be look'd upon as fickle headed, and almost as Apostates. In vain we
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endeavour to render the Reason of our Faith ; that's not the question, that way carries too far, and it would be too great a task to examine all to the bottom. In short, to speak truth, we must confess, that if we believe such great and wonderful things of the Devil, it is not because they are contained in the Holy Scripture, since we suspend not our Judgment till we have consulted it, but because we are persuaded before-hand, that it must be explain'd and understood according to the Judgment we have already pass'd, by reason of some expressions that seem to favour the common Belief, that the generality of Men already have of the Devil.

Sect. 6. If we desire more particularly to examine how the Notion of these things is formed in Men of Learning, by the means of Learning it self, and how it is increased ; I am ready to declare what I have observed for a long time, by the experiments I have made. The first prejudices of Man are as ancient as his knowledge, and begin from his most tender youth these two ways. When to appease the crys of Children, or to calm their Passions, they are threatned with the Bugbear, either by Words or Effects, either by making some extraordinary Noise, or presenting to them surprising Objects ; Experience has long since taught us, that these Impressions being the first, are also those that leave the deepest tracks in the Brain, and cannot afterwards be rooted out but with great trouble ; when Children being more advanced in years begin to play in the Streets, and to discourse with their Neighbours, they hear almost at every instant, the name of the Devil pronounced ; that is, as a kind of ornament to the common Conversation : They hear Tales told of him under the specious title of Histories, concerning Hobgoblins, Phantasms, and Witchcraft. Even their Parents, and some of their

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Masters,

Masters, by a deplorable mistake never check their Children in their House, their Disciples in their Schools, nor their Apprentices in their Shops, without mentioning the Devil in their Reproofs, and enforcing their chiding with it. The Names of *God* and *Christ* are not half so much used in those occasions, where they would be so lawful and serviceable ; but on the contrary they seem to be banish'd from the Mouths of most Men.

Sect. 7. When Youths are put to School, they read almost nothing from the lowest to the highest Forms, in the Greek and Latin Books, but what concerns the Demons and their Effects, as they were represented by the Heathens. They are imbu'd with that Science before they attain to those that relate to the use of this Life, and that are call'd *Faculties*. The infernal Gods and Goddesses ; as *Pluto*, *Vulcan*, *Proserpine*, are known very early, and grown familiar to Youth, before they are sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of the true God. They greedily imbibe the Epistles, Poetry, and Histories of the antient Greeks and Romans, where a frequent mention is made of the vertue of Dreams, Miracles, Apparitions, Spectres, coming out of Subterraneous Places, as Caverns, or descending from high, as the Air. Those Relations read with pleasure, are believed almost as the Gospel ; or rather are to them instead the Gospel. For if Parents are not pious enough to take care in their Houses of the instruction of their Children, in what concerns Religion, and to have an Eye upon their information, as to this point in the Schools ; I believe not, that of 25 Books, which are made use of in the Latin Schools to learn Sciences, more than one or two, are fit to inculcate the Grounds of Christianity to the tender Youth. Those that go from the Schools to the Universities, carry their heads full of thousands of Verses of

Horace,

Horace, Ovid, Virgil, and a vast number of Passages and Relations collected from Heathen Authors, both Greek and Latin. Those that return home from the Universities to their Houses, carry still more of them, but scarce bring back ten passages, or perhaps, so much as a passage or a lesson drawn from the Word of God, for the foundation of their Faith, and matter of their Devotion.

SECT. 8. In the mean while most of the young Men that go to the Universities, newly coming from under the Rod, and hardly capable of discretion, are allowed to make choice of their own Teacher : Which *St. Paul* reckons amongst the faults of these last times, *2 Tim.* 4. 3. They choose the Exercises they are to make, the Lessons they are to learn, and the Books they are to Read ; which they do not so much with an intent of Understanding the Holy Scripture ; as of informing themselves of the Controversies amongst the principal Sects, the particular Opinions of our Doctors, who are already but too much divided, and whose divisions are but too great. The curious Youth are more eager to learn such things, than those they ought to know. Carried away by the heat of their Blood, always ready to take fire and flight, they ardently apply themselves, obstinately to defend the part of their Masters, and direct their Studies, especially after the enquiry of such Reasons, as may help them to maintain the Opinions they have embraced, and to confute their Antagonists. So that whenever a passage of the Holy Writ is alledg'd, for, or against their Sentiments, either in Divinity or Philosophy, they exert all their ability and subtilty to wrest it, or to put upon it, such a Sense as favours the Opinion with which they are prejudiced. Thus Truth is not enquired after for it's own sake, and Scripture and Reason are often alledged, but to set off with

with some likelihood the private Opinions with which we are taken up.

Sect. 9. I hope that what I have just now said will easily be credited, if attention be given to what follows. I say, that the Character of Philosophy, such as is learned in the Schools, pours it self upon all the Interpretations and Translations that are of the Holy Writ. It was the Opinion of *Aristotle*, that the four Elements; Earth, Water, Air, and Fire, were included within one another as by Circles, reaching from the Center to the highest place of the Universe: So as that the Earth was the lowest, being mixed with Water in its Superficies, and the Air above it surrounding the Terraqueous Globe. These Propositions are granted by all. But that Philosopher also believes that Fire surrounds the Air, as the Celestial Heavens divided into several Vaults do Fire. These Vaults, to which the Sun, Moon and Stars are fastned, and are of a subtle and incorruptible matter in themselves, surround one another, and turn about us every year, every month, and every day, by the vertue of some certain Spirits, call'd *Assisting Forms*. Those that hold that Opinion for probable, are very apt to be persuaded, that the wicked Spirits dwell in the Air; because the superiour Spheres are too pure for them. When therefore those sort of Men hear *St. Paul* mentioning the Prince of the Power of the Air, *Ephes. 2. 1.* Or the Spiritual Wickedness in high Places, *Ch. 6. 12.* they doubt not but *St. Paul* was of the Opinion of *Aristotle*, and that by these words of the Holy Scripture, the wicked Spirits must be understood. Thus those who by reading *Plato*, have fill'd their heads with his Demons, fancy that this word is used in the Scripture in a Platonick Sense, without considering that this Philosopher lived not in the time that the Holy Writ was published.

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in which the former signification of these Terms might be chang'd, as it daily happens; and without so much as examining in what Sense they were taken by other Authors, contemporary with the Sacred Writers; whether 'tis probable that other Authors, whose Books are lost, understood 'em in the same Sense; or lastly, whether the Jews in whose Tongue the Holy Scripture was written, and who consequently ought to understand it best, put the same signification upon them.

SECT. 10. What I say of the ill use made of Philosophy as to this Point, must not appear strange, for it extends to every thing. When *Copernicus* began to assert, by Reasons that seem'd very strong to him, that the *Sun* is fast and unmoveable, and that the *Terraqueous* Globe moves; Those that held the Hypothesis of *Ptolomey*, pretended to explode that Opinion by clear and formal Texts of the Holy Scripture; but those that maintained it, contrived Explications to those passages, and wanted not plausible Reasons to set them off. Thus those that after *Descartes*, believe Man has an Idea of God in his Understanding, found the same Doctrine in *St. Paul*, and understood in that Sense, these Words of his *Epistle to the Romans*, Ch. 1. 19. *That which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God has shewed it unto them.* Even some of *Descartes's* Followers have explained the History of the Creation in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, according to the principles of that Philosopher, that is quite contrary to the right meaning of this Narration, as the Author himself confesses in his little Book, Intituled, *Cartesius Mosaisans*.

SECT. 11. It is the same with Divinity, as with Philosophy. Those that are call'd the Fathers of the Church, that is, her First, or chief Doctors in the Primitive times, the Authority of whom the
Papists

Papists equal to that of the Word of God, having been at first imbued with that false Philosophy, did not so much as think upon freeing themselves of their prejudices, by a true Interpretation and Translation of the Holy Scripture: On the contrary, they have pour'd their preventions over, whatever they have writ; for whether they treated of such Articles of Faith, as were most controverted; or whether they interpreted passages of the Holy Writ; they have adher'd to bare speculations, and apply'd them to subjects quite different from those the Sacred Writing aimed at. *St. Austin* in the 4th and 5th Century, has been fruitful in speculations; and *Origen* in the 3^d, has surpass'd all the others in mis-applications, remote from the scope of the Holy Pen-men, as may have been observed by what has been alleag'd from them, and several others concerning Spirits, in the 15th Chapter. Their Homilies, that is their Sermons, contain but few Expositions of the Holy Scripture, and still fewer Translations. 'Tis true, that *Origen* and *St. Jerom*, have taken more pains than the others, and been also more puzzled, having translated the Sacred Writings in those Ages, in which the knowledge of Tongues was not much look'd after, nor improv'd. In the mean while, what those Doctors have propos'd upon many separate passages, dispers'd thro' their Writings, (upon which, instead of a serious examination, they have put the Sense that was most favourable to their private Opinions) has ever been received and taught afterwards. Thus 'tis happen'd long after, the knowledge of Tongues not being better improv'd, that their Interpretations have been admitted without contradiction; only upon their own credit, and look'd upon with that veneration that is commonly paid to Antiquity, as tho' the World, in process of time, was grown younger than

than before. By these means it is, that their Doctrines concerning Spirits, and especially the bad, have insensibly been bequeathed, as an inheritance to posterity.

Sect. 12. Since therefore every one is so much taken up with this Sect, and pays so great a deference to those that are call'd the eminent Fathers; 'tis no wonder that the Papists, who above all others, put a high value upon them, should use their Language, and consecrate all their Expressions. And 'tis long since the Protestants have observ'd, that these their Adversaries have founded the Prayers for the dead, the worshiping of Saints, and the like Doctrines, upon some expressions of the Fathers, that seem to favour them. When afterwards they were compell'd to give some proof out of the Holy Scripture, they found the first, together with Purgatory, in the *1st Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, Chap. 3. 13. That fire shall try every Man's work.* 'Tis almost the same with those that are bred amongst the *Lutherans*; how great a Philosopher, and how learned soever any one may be; he will find no reason, and much less a necessity, to believe that Christ is locally and visibly ascended to Heaven, but it will appear to him a necessary proposition, that our Lord, after his Resurrection, penetrated thro' doors shut up, and that his Humanity is omnipotent. How learned soever one may be in the Tongues, there are however, frequent occasions, in which it can neither be seen or conjectur'd upon what ground, the learned have given to some certain words, a signification that favours the propositions they maintain, rather than their true natural Sense; such as 'tis found in other Authors, and in ordinary use of a Tongue, that is so familiar to them. Of these I might recite a thousand proofs if it were necessary, and time would allow me.

Señ. 13. Besides, as much as Man has taken pains to acquire uncertain and corrupted Sciences, so much has he been negligent of informing himself in the best, the finest, and at the same time, the smallest part of Sciences, with which he is ordinarily less acquainted; for as I have already said, the Youth in the Schools run over all the Countries of the Ancient Heathens, only to make a booty of *Latin* and *Greek*, before they do so much as visit Christianity; which is only shewn to them, as at a distance; they are yet of too tender a constitution to be loaden with such solid meat, and too young to be mixed with such important Affairs; so that they are taught almost nothing of that matter. It is not, thought convenient for them to know what Soul and Body are; wherein consists the Essence of the Soul, or that of the Angels and Devils; and what knowledge and operations those Spirits are capable of; and what share and administration they take here below in human Affairs. No light is afforded to them, that may dissipate the darkness that has been spread over their understandings in their youth, nor blot out the impressions that have been made upon them as to this point, by the means already mention'd; so that this darkness and these impressions, destitute of Antidotes, do still penetrate farther. Even those that follow the Principles of *Descartes*, tho' they distinguish better than others, the nature of Soul and Body, as will be shown in my *Second Book, Chap. 1.* Señ. 12, 13, 14. yet when they come to the operations of such Spirits, as are not joyned to a Body; either Angels or Devils; and undertake to explain how they can act upon other Bodies, either of Men, or other matter; they take as much freedom as they can, and go as far as they can be carried, by the prejudices they have imbibed with all others, before

before they studied Scripture, and Philosophy.

SECT. 14. That which may adorn the Human Mind with Light, and form its Judgment, is what is less intended to be acquired in Universities, tho' they seem to be the place where such a rare thing should be gotten, which most unhappily affords not the means to grow rich; I mean *Mathematicks*, and that part of natural *Philosophy*, that discovers the nature and course of the Heavens; not because they treat of our present subject, but for two other reasons I shall add. The first is, that more certainty is to be found in *Mathematicks*, than in all other Sciences; because they are grounded upon infallible Principles; such Students as are used to the certainty of these Principles, will not acknowledge for truth, such as are not attended with a full and entire conviction, and put a little value upon such Sciences, as have not the same certainty. But the Second Reason is still more particular; viz, That *Mathematicks*, especially that part that treats of the knowledge of Stars, manifestly discovers several things, that undeniably shew the Sacred Writers accommodated themselves to the stile and capacity of the Vulgar, and speak of the Heavens, Earth, Sun, Moon and Stars, not according to their own nature, and as they are in themselves; but according to the common notions of Men. And therefore those that are somewhat addicted to that Science, credit not so easily the discourses of other Men, and are not satisfied with probabilities. They are not disposed to fill the Air with Spirits, nor to fix them to Stars, nor to confound Spirits and Stars together. But the mischief is, as I have already hinted, that few Learned give up themselves to that part of the Sciences, tho' it is the most useful and beautiful of all.

Sect. 15. All these prejudices with which we have been once fill'd, which have been rooted in us more and more, by the ways already alleag'd, which have grown by the new nourishment they daily received, and which have neither been banished, nor weaken'd by the endeavours of a better informed Judgment; all these prejudices, I say, are no where more sensible than in the subject we treat of. And therefore we have destin'd this First Book, to establish this Truth, and make it very plain; to the end, it might be clearly perceived, that all those Opinions concerning the Devils, Divinations, and Witchcraft, draw their first Original from the Heathens, who communicated them to the Jews, during the *Babylonian Captivity*, where they had more conversation with the Philosophers, than in the Land of *Canaan*, whilst they liv'd separated from all other Nations of the Earth. There they insensibly took the tincture of the Heathen Doctrines and Practices, at least, of such as seem'd not directly oppos'd to their Law. The first *Christians* springing from the middle of the *Jews* and *Heathens*, kept likewise most part of the same Doctrines, and intended to gain the Heathens by too great and easie a compliance with their Opinions. Thus was insensibly laid the foundation, on which the great ædifice of Popery is now founded and rais'd.

Sect. 16. Another Judgment may be pass'd upon that matter, if Popery were put in parallel with Heathenism, and not esteem'd the worse of these two. For why should not they be held for Heathen Legends, what the Pagans have published of their Miracles, Oracles, Gods, Aërial Spectres, Dreams, and the like prodigies? That is, why do we not call 'em Lies, as we rightly so name the *Roman* Legends? Have we more reason to look upon as suspicious

pitious those wonders, the relations of which are inserted almost in all the Books of the chief Roman writers, and to look upon them as a branch of superstition, then to deal in the same manner with those of the Heathens? Whence comes it, that we publickly laugh at (both in our discourses and writings,) the sham miracles of the former, as being meer delusions and trifles, and that we approve, both by our words and our Books, the narrations that the latter make of the wonders seen amongst them; and that we quote them as true, tho' they be of the same matter and weight with the others? The antiquity of those Authors and of the times in which they have written, has it so much power and efficacy? and must we more easily credit stories, because they are said to have happen'd a long while ago, and in far remote Countries? But what's that to the main point? Truth fits not it self in this manner to the inclinations of Men. Lies were anciently told as well as they are now, and as well in Foreign Countries as in our own.

Seet. 17. It is methinks sufficiently proved, by all the quotations of this Book, that there are no Miracles, Oracles, purging Fires, Apparitions of Hobgoblins or Souls, Witchcraft by Letters and Characters, or choice of Days, either in Judaism or Popery; but they draw their Original from Paganism. What Reason than may a Protestant have to reject the fables of the *Talmud*, and the stories of the Popish writings, as soon as those fables and tales are naturaliz'd by Jews or Papists; and to hold them for truths, or at least, for probable things, as long as Paganism cherishes them in it's bosom? All must be rejected together, or the whole, whatever it may be, must be let alone. Why do we not free our selves from all our prejudices, and associate Scripture to Reason, to ground our Reasonings

ings only upon them, and to look upon them as the only pure spring? What pains and trouble has not our credulity to those Heathen tales cost us? How many learned Divines and Philosophers have puzzled their brains, to ascribe to the Devil those Oracles, which they look not for the effects of Human knowledge, and withall, such wonders as they could not believe to be performed by Human power? So when it seem'd, that the answers that were given by the false Gods, and the effects that were produced among the Heathens, were too extraordinary, and above the force of nature; 'twas thought fit to cut the knot, that could not be untied. 'Twas supposed that Spirits only could be the Authors of all these things; a suitable power and knowledge was ascribed to them; and at last the very manner of effecting them was determined; such is the Original of that science, falsely so call'd, the contradictions of which, the Apostle commands a Christian to avoid, in his *1 Epist. to Timothy, Chap. 6. v. 20.*

Seet. 18. The old Women's tales, as *St. Paul* call's them in the same *Epistle, Chap. 4. v. 7.* which the Popish writers tell us, and the fables they rehearse, would supply us with abundant matter of meditation, should we as much credit them as we do the others. For what must not be said, if, supposing that Human deceits have no share in them, we would examine how the Devil could produce all the effects that are told in those narrations; we believe it more convenient to spare our selves that trouble, by rejecting, as meer lies, the greatest part of what comes from that side. But what Reason have we to deal otherwise with the Papists than with the Heathens? 'Tis because of the particular hatred we have for Popery, from which we have been separated not long since, and with which we
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are in continual War; besides the Reformation of Doctrine and Worship that was made in the Church, at the beginning of the last Century, extended not to those Opinions, which were scarce taken notice of, and which had taken root even before the decay of the Church was perceived; so that it was only purified of such Errors, the rejection of which was judged absolutely necessary, in conference betwixt *Luther* and *Calvin*. Not long after, when the Reformation was carryed farther, such points only were handled, as had some relation with the former. 'Tis properly for that Reason, that in those publick writings that are call'd the Liturgy of our Churches, it was never minded to correct those expressions, that had been so long in use as to Spirits and Devils, no controversy having ever been rais'd, either amongst the Christians in general, or the Papists in particular. Yet I doubt not but it had been done, had this Article been taken so much notice of, and examined with so much attention as the others were, or had but one half of the difficulties that are now proposed, been alledged at that time.

Sect. 19. Moreover, amongst the qualities that are ascribed to Popery, the picture of which I confess can scarce be more unshaply then the Original it self; That of Antichristianism was thought very convenient, as that of Antichrist to fit the Pope extraordinary well. Immediately the words of *St. Paul*, in his 2 *Epistle* to the *Thessalonians*, Chap. 2. v. 3. to the 9th. were explained in that sense, and it was thought that the Apostle had an Eye to Popery when he said, *That his coming would be in the efficacy of Satan, with all Power, Signs, and Lying Wonders.* By the explication the Protestants were disposed to joyn together, Satan and Antichrist, that is the Devil and the Pope, as two Brothers, and to draw that consequence, that Popery was the Doctrine of
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the Devil. By which means it was easy to insinuate, that the Devil interestes and has his vote in the tenets of the Papists, and that the See of Rome is the seat of his Empire.

Señ. 20. Thence proceeds the stile that is ordinarily used both in Discourses and Books, even as to the smallest Controversies, that are raised about some point of Doctrine or Worship; when any sticks not to the vulgar Opinions, 'tis presently cry'd up, that the Devil's let loose; and uses all his violence and crafty Devices to assault the Church. 'Tis said he's always ready to oppose all our Motions towards good, and a thousand like. People are pleas'd to hear the Devil so set off; they love the occasion of casting upon him all the faults they are guilty of; and of applauding themselves for victory, when they have overcome some Temptation which they imagined to have been raised by the endeavours of that powerful Enemy. We look upon it as a piece of Eloquence not only to take *God's* Name in vain but also incessantly to joyn that of the Devil with it. In a word, the Almighty forms almost no project, but immediately the Devil endeavours to destroy it; and the most vitious Men commit scarce any Crimes, but they are driven to them by the Devil.

Señ. 21. With all those prejudices we undertake the expounding and translating of the Holy Writ; for having never conceived the least doubt as to these things, we had never occasion to examine whether they are really true. But why should we take so much trouble, is it not far more convenient to believe what is generally believed, and to speak as the other do. The enquiry of Truth is an undertaking in which little assistance is to be hoped; and there are so many guards on all the ways that lead to it, that it would prove very hard to break through. 'Tis an ancient Proverb, *That every one is*

not allow'd to go to Corinth. Whoever intends to overcome so many difficulties, cannot hope to succeed but by his diligence, eagerness, and earnestness. To this end, I know not a better means than to proceed to the Interpretation of the Holy Scripture, as though it had never been interpreted before; to search into all things carefully, to enquire after the Connection of all the Doctrines contained in it; and to have recourse to Interpreters only to borrow some light for dark places, but not to follow them as true and infallible Guides. This I hope to put in practice in my second Book, if God gives me life.

Sect. 22. But doubtless this advice will prove serviceable only to my self, and some few Persons who shall perceive its usefulness; neither have I reason to hope that it should ever be relisht by the publick; Popery being not so far eradicated out of the Protestants Hearts, but that it springs up again from time to time in some places. There is a fault, of which the visible Church was never free; that is, the having too much deference for Authority and Tradition. For though a great Respect ought to be paid to those that are established as God's Ministers in the Church, and that several things concerning her external Government, ought to be ruled by her Directors; yet we must not give up our selves wholly to them. There is a great regard to be had as to this Point, and a Mean to be chosen with much Discretion; lest to avoid the reproach of Irreverence and Irregularity, we should ascribe too much to the Authority of the Church, and the common Opinion of her chief Doctors: In this Sense it is, that one of the most learned Men of this Age undertook to assert this Thesis, *Papatus est inseparabilis ab Ecclesia*; The Popedom is inseparable from the Church. As for me, who perhaps have more experience in this matter than any other Person in these
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Provinces; I dare not hope this method should change, and even have no Reason to believe it, considering what passes whilst I am taken up with this present work. However, I shall prosecute my design, relying upon the Grace of God, being persuaded that I write for maintaining the Truth, and that I cannot forbear to do it, since I am informed of it. After all, as I aim at nothing else but the Glory of God, and the defence of the true Faith; so I see that my labour has not been in vain, but has already produced great Fruit. This bears up my Courage, and inspires me with great ardour, to apply my self to the composition of the following Books.

The End of the First Book.

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